

# The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Volume IV.  
Number 8.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1913

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A representation of the execution of Marie Antoinette. Crudely drawn by some anonymous artist, but singularly faithful as to back-grounds, costumes, etc.

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## The New Culture-History in Germany

BY PROFESSOR ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW, LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.

### I.

One who undertakes to interpret the significant movements of his own age, and to fix the place in history of the things happening before his eyes, may well take heed to the words of Mrs. Browning: "Every age, through being beheld too close, is ill discerned." If the side of a mountain, she says, were carved into the giant image of a man, a peasant gathering brushwood near at hand would not see it. He would need to get a good ten miles off before the features of the image broke upon his vision. So it is in history. We are able to measure the work of the past,—the rise of critical methods of research, the colossal task of collecting and editing the sources, the growth of historical instruction in the university, the creation of a new historical literature. These achievements we see as accomplished facts of which our historical science is properly proud.

But we do not so readily see and comprehend the activities of our own day. Certain tendencies in historical science are evident enough, such as the fresh endeavor to formulate the underlying principles of historical progress, and the earnest search for more adequate methods of historical instruction. But few there are who can discern the signs of the times clearly enough to say with assurance that here or there the epoch-making thing is coming to pass. The historical worker is but a poor prophet. It is his business to be wise after the event, not before; and it becomes him to stick to his last.

In what I have to say, therefore, about one of the outstanding movements in the historical field at the present moment, I shall not try to prophesy, but only to report the facts as faithfully as I can and let it go at that. Whether the new culture-history in Germany has come to stay or not, at any rate it *has come*, and it must be reckoned with in any appraisal of present conditions and tendencies in historical learning.

### II.

In the autumn of 1900, two American students called on Professor Karl Lamprecht in his study at Leipzig. After the usual civilities, allusion was made to the culture-history propaganda in which he was engaged. With a twinkle in his eye, Professor Lamprecht exclaimed, in hearty German fashion: "*Jetzt ist es Waffenstillstand*,"—"Just now there is a truce." It was a fitting statement of the case. The year 1900 not only divides the culture-history controversy chronologically into two equal parts; it also marks a positive change in the method and direction of the

movement. A dozen years the other side of 1900, and the dozen years this side, tell the story and reveal somewhat the trend of this new gospel of historical science.

If I may carry out my figure, Professor Lamprecht is himself, first and last, the apostle of the new history. In his personal career, he is a typical product of modern German scholarship. Born in 1856 in the village of Jessen, on the Schwarzen Elster, he is now fifty-six years of age. He had his gymnasial training in the old historic town of Wittenberg, his university studies at Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich, getting his doctorate at Leipzig in 1878 with a thesis in mediæval economic history.

After a few years as private tutor in Cologne and as docent at Bonn, in 1885 he was made professor extraordinarius in history at Bonn, going in 1890 as ordinarius to Marburg, and in 1891 to Leipzig, where he still remains. During these years also he published his first serious works,—the monograph on *Initialornamentik* in 1882, the *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte* in 4 volumes, in 1886. The latter work especially brought him good repute and still remains, in the esteem of many scholars, his most substantial achievement.

But already in these years Lamprecht had conceived and had begun to work out the more ambitious plan of a history of Germany along new lines. In 1891, the year of his call to Leipzig, the first volume of the *Deutsche Geschichte* was issued from the press. As he himself tells us, he put it forth without preface or explanation, in order that it might make its own impression on the world of letters. During the twenty years since then the work of publication has gone forward, until to-day the *Hauptwerk* (to 1870) comprises twelve volumes in fourteen parts, and the *Ergänzungswerk* (since 1870) two volumes in four parts, completed only last year.

Lamprecht did not have long to wait for the returns on his first volume of the *Deutsche Geschichte*. Critical opinion soon became busy upon the book, and the author promptly found himself the center of a literary debate of characteristic German scope and fervor. This war of historical scholarship, waged about the earlier volumes of the *Deutsche Geschichte* fills the years from 1891 to 1900. While recognizing divers excellencies in the work, Lamprecht's critics in the main attacked his ideas and his historical representations in the most merciless fashion. The debate called out a whole library of critical discussions for and



against the new views. In defense of his position, Lamprecht stood practically alone, not one of the recognized leaders of historical scholarship coming to his support.

But his own polemic was vigorous and versatile. In the preface to a second edition of volume one (1894), and in a long series of pamphlets and articles, he defined his position afresh and undertook to maintain it against all comers. It is chiefly from the controversial literature of this period,—the attacks of critics and Lamprecht's replies—that one has to study the deeper aspects of the controversy.

Such was the situation when, in 1900, Lamprecht could say "*Jetzt ist es Waffenstillstand.*" A decade of intense and bitter defense was behind him. He had proclaimed his new evangel to the scholars of his native land, and it had been rejected. He could not count among his adherents one prominent historical scholar in Europe. He had received a hearing abroad, especially in France, where his ideas were already familiar; but in the main he was a prophet without honor in his own country. In his academic chair at Leipzig he had won large success. His lectures and his seminars were crowded with young men eager for the new ideas and the new methods. But, as tested by his own manifest ideals, his propaganda had not succeeded. In the *Deutsche Geschichte* he had aimed at nothing less than a complete revolution in the fundamental conceptions of history and in the construction of historical works. As measured by this purpose, his accomplished results were painfully small. He had indeed stirred up debate as it had not been stirred in a generation. He had focused attention afresh on the abiding and ever-significant elements of historical doctrine and historical method; and in all this he was rendering a service of the first magnitude. But in his endeavor to secure the acceptance of his own ideas, his crusade for a new science of history, he had failed. It cannot be said that he was conscious of failure; for neither then nor at any subsequent time has he shown any wavering of faith in his own creed. But the fact remains that Germany had rejected his message; and with the rejection of this message the first period of his activity came to an end.

### III.

But already in those years of conflict and defeat, the dominant policies of his second period were beginning to take shape. If the older historical scholars would not receive his ideas, he would gather about him the younger men and train them in his ways. His remarkable success as a leader in historical studies had already indicated this course as the natural and necessary expedient. From his own words we learn that already in 1900 he had conceived the plans by which since then he has sought to realize his ideals in historical scholarship. That was the boundary line between the old credence and the new, and from that frontier he has gone straight forward to labor for his cause in new ways.

The activity of Lamprecht in these later years is

conditioned by another fact. His conceptions of history were refused not only by German scholars as a whole, but by his own colleagues in the University of Leipzig; in a real sense, his foes were they of his own household. He could look for support in this quarter quite as little as in any other. His associates in history persisted in the *alte Richtung* and would none of him. And the inevitable happened. Finding himself a leader without a party, he undertook the gigantic task of creating a party for himself,—the task of gathering disciples, indoctrinating them with his ideals, and thus founding a school of thought in which his principles should live. This is the labor to which he has devoted his recent years.

Other activities have by no means been neglected. Since 1900 he has carried the *Deutsche Geschichte* to completion; has put forth a continuous stream of apologetic and controversial writings; has participated with characteristic energy in divers learned societies and associations; has edited a notable series of historical monographs; has served his term as Rektor of the University with distinction, and in that capacity started various reforms in administration and government; has labored for the betterment of public school conditions in the land; has shown an intelligent interest in the colonial enterprises of Germany, especially on the side of *Kulturpolitik*; and into all of these occupations has carried an amazing force and fertility of thought.

In them all, too, he has adhered rigidly to his main idea; he has never in his avocations forgotten his vocation. Set him to argue any cause or to labor at any task, sooner or later he will bring it into subordination to his ruling ideas. His is the spirit of the apostle, proclaiming the truth in season and out of season, whether man will hear or not. And, in so far as one can discern, there has been no change of heart, no concession to his critics, from first to last. In his latest book—*Reden und Ansprachen zur Hochschulreform*, not yet issued from the press—are to be found every characteristic feature of the system set forth in the *Deutsche Geschichte* twenty years ago. In his own conception of things, his critics have not overthrown him; he is of the same opinion still. He simply ignores criticism and goes his way in the serene assurance of a righteous cause. Whether right or wrong, Lamprecht has the courage of his convictions and follows his course with singular faith and tenacity of purpose.

These lesser tasks aside, the chief occupation of his later years has been the creation of an historical school after his own mind. On May 15, 1909, Lamprecht formally opened his "Royal Saxon Institute for Cultural and Universal History" as an adjunct to his professorship in the University of Leipzig. The germinal idea of the Institute goes back to 1900, when, baffled in his plans, he began to cast about for some new organ of influence. He conceived the thought of an historical organization big enough and comprehensive enough to accomplish his desires. And forthwith he began to labor for it. Little by little he found friends for his enterprise. Generous subscriptions of funds came



in from private individuals, from the government of Saxony, from the emperor himself. With his own donation of four thousand volumes as a nucleus, the library of the Institute rapidly grew to 30,000 volumes. An old historic house immediately adjoining the University buildings was procured, and in it the Institute was housed. With these results accomplished, Lamprecht could three years and a half ago deliver his opening *Rede* and declare the Institute ready for practical work.

The Royal Saxon Institute is essentially a closely correlated group of historical seminars under the supervision of one mind, with their own courses of instruction, their own library and museum. Although affiliated with the University of Leipzig, the Institute is essentially independent and self-directing. It has its own instructors, its own equipment, its own funds. Its students are mostly matriculates in the University, but not necessarily so. And the entire plant is consecrated to the task of teaching history in the Lamprechtian way. In the present academic year there are courses by Lamprecht himself in *historical methods, the culture-history of Germany*; courses by twelve other men in the *philosophy of history, historical bibliography, ethnology, economic and social history, genealogy, court ceremonial, child study, comparative law, culture-history of Germany, culture-history of China*, and so on. On all of these widely divergent lines, the Institute announces itself to be equipped for adequate training in historical research, and the showing is an impressive one.

The Institute is Lamprecht's answer to his critics. The men he has gathered about him are men of his own choosing, men thoroughly filled with his own ideas and methods. Through these disciples and those who come after, he seeks to perpetuate the cause for which he has labored. His fellow-workers are busy not only in teaching, but in writing and publishing. Already the historical series founded by the Institute—*Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte*—has put out twenty-two substantial monographs on the most varied subjects, but all in the field of *Kulturgeschichte*. Thus in and through his Institute, Lamprecht has become, both literally and figuratively, the founder of a school. His enthusiastic adherents see in him a new Ranke who is to do for historical science to-day what the great master of Berlin did for it three-quarters of a century ago. But all in all, Germany continues skeptical. It is as true to-day as in 1900 that no scholar of first rank has joined the Lamprecht clientele. Certain reputable historians and sociologists have endorsed his position in part,—Ernst Bernheim, Paul Barth, O. Hintze, and so on; but not one of them counts himself a disciple of Lamprecht in any proper sense. If in the recent period the opposition to his views has seemed to abate, it is only because his critics consider him already disposed of or have given him up as hopeless. Beyond any question, there has been no change of front on either side. It looks significant that, while nearly a thousand historians attended the International Historical Congress at Berlin, in 1908, and scores of papers were read, so far as the published reports indicate, neither

the name of Lamprecht nor any trace of his influence appears in the program from beginning to end. Apparently the historical scholarship of Europe has left Professor Lamprecht to himself, to work out his problem as best he may, and he has committed the future of his cause to the younger men of his school.

#### IV.

In the last analysis, however, it is a question of ideas and principles, not of personalities. If Lamprecht has opened a new highway for historical science, if he is to discover new and vital truth, his work will live and will vindicate its claims in the open forum of historical scholarship. This is the real test, and to this test his system of thought and his method of research must be subjected.

The student of Lamprecht's writings soon grows familiar with certain great outstanding conceptions, which pervade and dominate his thinking. These constitute his creed as an historian; and while he does not always adhere faithfully in practice to his doctrines, yet in the main they shape his work. In respect to all of these controlling principles two questions are to be asked: whether they are *true*; and whether they are *original*. But first one has to address himself to the onerous task of *understanding* Lamprecht's ideas as expressed in a terminology distinctly his own. For us there is room only for the closest summary of his thinking, with some report of the chief lines of attack upon it.

Lamprecht takes his departure from the *alte Richtung*, as he calls it,—the science of history as handed down from the great workers of the past. This history, he maintains, suffers from certain vital limitations and defects. It is mainly political history; it centers in the study of great individuals,—a sort of sublimated hero-worship; it gives no heed to the masses; it is ignorant of social psychology, and makes no move to discern the deeper causes of social progress; it knows nothing of the process of evolution in social growth; it is content to establish the historic fact—in Ranke's phrase, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*"—and fails to search out the endless coherence and unity of facts; and so on and so on. This is the *alte Richtung*, and Ranke is its prophet. Ranke was great in that he thought up to the level of his day. But the *Jungrankianer*—these latter-day disciples who still accept him as leader, these for whom the new light has arisen, although they see it not,—they are indeed the blind leaders of the blind.

This whole system of things,—principles and method alike—Lamprecht would sweep away, and in its place erect the *neue Richtung*, the new way, which he has discovered and proclaimed.

1. At the outset *neue Richtung*, as he conceives it, would take a broader view of the *field of history, the proper scope of history*. The domain of history is not merely the life of the State. It is as wide as the social activities of mankind; it is the study of human development as a whole. That is the comprehensive meaning of *Kulturgeschichte* in Lamprecht's vocabu-

lary. *Kulturgeschichte* is complete history, adequate history, embracing all the phenomena of human progress and welding them into unity. It includes the spiritual elements as well as the material,—literature and art, science and religion, economic life, social life, the life of the State, each in its due degree; and it blends them all together into a homogeneous whole.

All this is familiar enough to modern thought and can in no sense be accredited to any men. What is relatively new in Lamprecht's conception is the deeper insight into the interpenetrations of the various elements in social progress. The older culture-history was in the main only a sequence of disconnected chapters dealing separately with the divers social institutions,—no unity of treatment, no great organizing ideas, just the *disjecta membra* of social phenomena. Into this inchoate mass Lamprecht has sought to bring order and organization. His performance is not above criticism; but the attempt is worthy. He is also not alone in the field. In a measure the idea of the thing was already common property and other men were applying it. But his insistence on this ideal, his urgent demand for a broader notion of history and a more dynamic treatment of it, have won him the place of a leader. In his definition of the field of history he is seen at his best.

2. In like manner, the *neue Richtung* would base history on a juster conception of the relations between the individual and the mass. The old history, he alleges, was "individualistic"; the new is "collectivistic." The school of Ranke exalted the great man, the hero, and forgot the common man. The new school would reverse all this. The makers of history are the masses. The historian must interpret the life of the people as a whole—all of the people in all of their relations. The individual cannot be ignored; he counts as a unit in the social body. But in his individuality, his otherness, whatever is unique in him, he counts no more than the individual plant counts in botany. The historian must seek the typical, not the isolated; must deal in categories, not in units; must know the general mind of an age, not the mind of this or that individual or of all individuals as such. History becomes, in this wise, a record of successive stages of social consciousness in which are sunk and lost all particular personalities, deeds, and institutions. In the vision of its founder, the new history will achieve at last a vast body of generalized truth which gathers up all that is worth while in the human record.

The individual, Lamprecht argues, is not worth while, and there are too many of him; also he is essentially unknowable and therefore no fit basis for a science. History cannot know the individual, but it can know the general conditions created by individuals in the aggregate; and these are its proper domain. Even the free acts of the individual are grounded in social conditions. The great elements of culture are social, not individual. By massing individuals and averaging them, history can arrive at generalizations which become laws of scientific certainty. Such his-

tory is generic, and therefore scientific. The individual disappears; but society remains.

Around these doctrines the battle has waged very hotly. Nobody maintains that history is concerned with the individual as such; nobody has sought to maintain it. The conception of history as the story of all the people in all of their vital contacts is no man's invention and no man's property. But there agreement must halt. History must take account of individuals, whether persons or things, events or ideas; it must look to particulars; it must establish the concrete and the specific. In Lamprecht's sense, history cannot be generic without ceasing to be history and turning into philosophy or sociology. The definite uniqueness of individual life, individual character, enters as indispensable, ineradicable force into historical science. Sociology may treat man as a type; history must treat him as a personality. The antithesis of a free few and an unfree many denies the facts of life and experience. This pretty house of cards will not stand. All men are free, all men are unfree; and where to draw the line no man can ever say. History is the vast interplay of free personalities, and to eliminate personality is to eliminate the human,—the historic truth in history. History is not a natural science; it is a spiritual science, a *Geisteswissenschaft*; and the wind of the spirit bloweth where it listeth. Individual and mass, the one and the many, act and react, touch one another and mingle; they are eternally inseparable. Both belong to history; the rights of both are fixed and sure. Pure individualism misses the mark as far as pure collectivism; the truth lies in between.

The history of the future will be no completely generalized science. It will continue to talk of men and their deeds, the things they do and the things they say, to the end of time. History cannot speak in terms of biology. For the botanist one plant may be as another plant; for the historian no two mortals can ever be so nearly alike as to become mere typical forms. The human type is a type plus something else,—plus free personality, the final creative force in history. To deny personality in history, or to debase it, is to turn history into mere ballooning among the clouds.

3. Back of all this fervent debate, of course, lies the perennial problem of *law in history*,—the questions of freedom and necessity, of causation, of social evolution, and of the scientific nature of history,—questions too big and intricate for any proper discussion here. We have seen already how Lamprecht stands to these issues. He believes that history can be reduced to a science of generalized laws; he believes the causal relation can be established as the organizing principle in all historical phenomena; he believes, apparently, that human freedom is a negligible factor in social progress; and he throws himself strenuously into the endeavor to shape historical science on these lines.

One comes from the study of Lamprecht's works with the feeling that he has not grasped the great truths involved in the issue, certainly has not thrown

new light upon them. In spite of his manifestly wide scholarship in his own field, he seems a smatterer in fields not his own. He has caught up the vocabulary and some of the ideas of modern psychology and sociology and built his system upon them. In his endeavor to transform history into sociology he represents a strong current of thought in our time, coming down from Comte, through Buckle, Taine, and others, to the sociologists of the present day. But he is not equal to the task; he does not know enough. He illustrates afresh the well-attested truth that the philosophy of history belongs to philosophers, not to historians, and should be left where it belongs. If Lamprecht or any other scholar wants to study and formulate the laws of social growth and decay, the way is open; it is a legitimate work. He may use the materials history furnishes for this task. But let him not call himself an historian. This is the heart of the case against Lamprecht. He has gone over to the enemy's camp, and does not know it. While professing himself an historian, he has adopted the principle and method of sociology. If history is merely biology and psychology and sociology, all scientific distinctions are abolished; anything is anything else, and the ideal of historical science becomes an idle day-dream. In divers ways Lamprecht has done good service for history, most of all through his insistence on the larger way of looking at historical processes. But his confusion of the great human sciences is an attempt at the impossible. It is no disparagement of sociology to deny it is history. Where history ends sociology begins. They are not rivals but fellow-workers in the field of learning. Each helps the other more when it abides in its own domain, and it contributes more to the general good. History and sociology are common heirs to the accumulated data of human experience. But they have different interests in this heritage. History uses it to establish specific facts and the coherence of facts; sociology uses it to formulate general laws. The "philosophy of history," in modern terms, is partly metaphysics and partly sociology, in any event not history in method or in content. The prime defect of Lamprecht's system lies in the endeavor to make of history what it is not, ought not to be, and never can become. To deny that history is sociology, or biology, or a completely generalized science, or a body of abstract truth, is only to defend more faithfully its sacred rights in its own distinctive task. When all is said and done, history is the human record—the record itself, not any speculation about the record or deduction from it; and the business of the historian is to establish the record,—*"wie es eigentlich gewesen."*

In the matter of evolution in history, Lamprecht offers nothing vitally new. The Darwinian doctrine has penetrated into every realm of modern science and thought, into history among the rest; it long since became common property. In the field of historical study, the recognition of an evolutionary process goes back as far as Herder, as Lamprecht's critics are ready to show. His claim to be a pioneer in this teaching cannot stand the test. Divested of its unique terminology, his doctrine of evolution means only the

slow, genetic growth of society from simpler to more complex forms through the centuries. His vision is wide and his look is deep, and his emphasis on the evolutionary principle is wholesome. But his argument in this particular is valid only if one concedes his argument as a whole.

4. With like facility, Lamprecht translates history into terms of *psychology*. "History," he says, "is nothing but applied psychology. Hence we must look to theoretical psychology to give us the clew to its true interpretation." (*What is History?* 29). These conceptions saturate his thinking. Man is a creature with a *psyche* or soul; the science which explains the soul unlocks the treasures of history. The *neue Richtung* cannot rest from its labors until it has built a psychological foundation for historical science. By the application of the principles of psychology to the data of human experience, history will arrive at a certified body of general laws.

However faulty in its essence, such logic contains a cardinal truth. Scientific psychology can teach the historian many things he needs to know. The student of modern psychology, normal and abnormal, must feel better equipped to understand the men and women of the past. Their thoughts and feelings and volitions become more nearly an open book. But to the layman, that seems about all psychology can do for the historian. It can show him human nature, the raw material of his study. It cannot add to the content of his science; it cannot define his method. Psychology is, for history, a contributory science, a *Hilfswissenschaft*; but that is all. If one likes the metaphor, he may call history "applied psychology"; but the figure gets him nowhere.

All this pertains to the psychology of the individual. But, with Lamprecht, as the mass, not the individual, is the groundwork of history, so it is mass-psychology with which the historian has to do. This thought emerges everywhere in Lamprecht's work. The human aggregate, the social mass, has a mind of its own, a soul of its own, which he calls the "social psyche." Precisely what he means by the social psyche one hardly ventures to say. He seems to mean no more than the general social consciousness, the general mind, as it finds expression in any given age. If so, he has only coined a new name for the long-familiar *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age, and does not advance our knowledge of the thing itself.

Yet his message is true, if it be not new. The historian must know the social soul,—the mind of the epoch or people he would portray. He must live into their life. Emerson told the historian that he must become the man whose story he would tell,—a saying which goes straight to the heart of things. Lamprecht tells the truth, but with the air of one bursting with a mighty secret. When the secret is out, it proves to be a great truth, but a familiar one. He has done well to urge this vital principle, too readily overlooked or pushed aside, and his teaching will bear good fruit. More and more the historical worker will delve into the common consciousness, the mass-psychology, and ground his study in it. But until historical science



becomes "collectivistic," as Lamprecht would have it, the historian cannot eliminate the individual and his "psyche" as a coordinate force in historical progress.

5. These are the theoretical foundations of the new way. The science of history traces the slow unfolding of the social psyche and establishes its laws, under the guidance of psychological principles. That is its domain; that makes history history. The question remains as to the *actual construction of history* on these lines.

In the *Deutsche Geschichte*, Lamprecht puts his theories to the test. By an intensive study of the tenth century, he discovered its ruling spirit, its *dominant*. Working backward and forward from the tenth century, he was able to identify the characteristic note in the social psyche of every age, until the entire social-psyche development of the German nation stood revealed. Step by step, as he believed, he could see the growth of the social mind and could fix the law of its progressive unfoldment. The application of this law gave him the most original feature of his system, the doctrine of the *stages of culture*. Wider research discovered this law to be the norm not only in German history, but in all history; it defines the method of the "mechanism" of the universal historical process.

In the evolution of society, as Lamprecht teaches, the nation—not the State or any artificial group—is the unit. Within itself each nation traverses a natural life-term, marked by definite, successive stages of culture, and when its course is run it passes away. The several chapters of *Animism, Symbolism, Typism, Conventionalism, Individualism, and Subjectivism*, make up the story. It would take a book to explain these terms; but explanation is not necessary here. Lamprecht finds in each of them a magic key to unlock the manifold life of a whole epoch. To comprehend German civilization from the tenth to the thirteenth century, one looks for the "Conventional"; that epithet covers all its phenomena, material and spiritual. In the age of Individualism everything is individual; in the age of Typism everything is typical; and so on. One all-compelling word sums up the history of a great nation through a long, progressive epoch.

If this conception of historical evolution be true, it is the greatest discovery ever accredited to our science. It is capable of infinite application, a veritable *Novum Organum*. But sadly one must recognize it is not true; it is little short of absurd. The secret of history is not so easy as that. No one word, no possible formula of words, can truly and amply characterize the immeasurable resources of historic life in any age.

That the doctrine of culture-epochs carries a certain truth, no scholar will question any more. There is the mind of an age, the *Zeitgeist*, and it leaves its mark everywhere. Ruling ideas emerge and stamp themselves on the course of events. The ruling ideas of one era carry over into the next, and preserve the continuity of the historical process. But no determinate law underlies and shapes this growth. Lamprecht speaks of the "mechanism" of transition from

age to age. But history is not mechanics; it is life, and the laws of physics have no place in it. There are no fixed stages in the growth of a nation. National life is individual, not typical. No nation repeats the history of another. The free play of historic forces in the nation as in the individual leaves no room for that.

The crowning achievement of Lamprecht's epochs theory is his doctrine of *universal history*. The writing of universal history on the new lines, he would say belongs to the future; for universal history gathers up and puts into form the results derived from the comparative study of national developments. First a long period of intensive research in the history of the nations; the accumulation of typical forms in national growth; the definition of causes and processes; the wider generalizations from the whole field; and then may come the universal history of the future,—the *Kulturgeschichte* of all humanity. The vision is splendid, and one is impressed to find it standing out most clearly in Lamprecht's recent utterances, as if here at last were the goal of all his striving, a comprehensive history of human civilization on the basis of national life.

In the absence of performance, one can only judge the theory as such. As a theory, with all its allurements, it shares the defects of Lamprecht's thinking everywhere; it is mechanical, doctrinaire, unhistorical. His comments in relation to universal history often throw a strong light on the reciprocal influence of national cultures on one another; but when he talks of "diosmosis," "endosmosis," and "exosmosis," he has left history and returned to physics. "A man who thinks in these terms. . . . has abandoned History for abstract science." So rigid and mechanical is the evolutionary process in history, as Lamprecht conceives it, that in the end the world itself, the vast human aggregate, must grow old and decay. When all the nations have passed through the life-sequence from plastic to rigid forms, and each has yielded to the other what it has to give, then the end will come; humanity itself will stiffen into fixed forms and cease to grow. This is no dream or intuition or prophesy, Lamprecht would say; it is the reign of law in history. But manifestly such law rests on nothing more secure than physical or biological analogies, and cannot support the superstructure of historical truth. History must be a law unto itself; it must stand upon its own foundations. Some day there will arise a truly universal history; but it can hardly be after the manner of the *neue Richtung*.

6. One hears a deal, also, first and last, about the *method of the new history*. Lamprecht calls one of his pamphlets *die Kulturhistorische Methode*. In method as in principle he believes himself to have opened new roads into the realm of historical truth. Two aspects of his methodology need a moment's thought.

In the first place, his point of view toward any historical problem partakes of the general character of his system,—it has the defects of its qualities. His constant search is for the "typical," the "generic." Not content to let the event, the institution, the idea,

stand forth in its simple truth, he must force it into some category or other of his system. He is concerned not so much with the verity of facts as with their classification. Like the biologist, he has not accounted for the individual form until he has labelled it and pigeonholed it under its proper genus and species. The value of the fact as a scientific truth lies in its generic relations, not in itself; the same with a personality, a great movement, or any other product of historical action.

It must be conceded that Lamprecht has developed an amazing facility with his method. At times his insight, his intuition, amounts very nearly to positive genius. Beyond question his studies have illuminated many dark corners in German history. But the method itself gives one a sense of insecurity. His broad, swift generalizations must be the fruits of genius unparalleled and almost uncanny or they must be, many times, rash guesses at truth, bold leaps into the dark. With an easy pen he finds in plow and plowman, in poem and picture and social custom, in crop reports and religious creeds, in big personalities and big machines, the same *dominant*, the same *Zeitgeist*; each one in its way embodies the age to which it belongs. He can tell you to precision why a canvass by Bellini belongs to the stage of "Convention-alism" and another by Rembrandt to the age of "Individualism"; and so on.

Above most other workers, the historian needs to leave a sense of trustworthiness, of dependableness, of severe and scrupulous self-restraint; and in these things Lamprecht fails. Perhaps criticism has judged him unjustly; but that can hardly be. His doctrines are not derived from the facts of history; they are imposed upon the facts. He claims to have come to his conclusions as to the social-psyche, the stages of culture, and the rest, by inductive study; but the method itself does not bear the earmarks of inductive processes. It is speculative, metaphysical, intuitional, poetical, what you will; but not inductive, therefore not scientific, and not historical.

One of Lamprecht's most friendly critics, Kuno Francke, after admiring his brilliant generalizations, remarks: "That Lamprecht's survey of Germany in the eighteenth century is a philosophical construction rather than a plain history is clear at first sight." (*Nation* LXXXV, 139.) Similar verdicts could be cited for every portion of the *Deutsche Geschichte*. This method is characteristic; it is organic in all his work. Let anyone read the comparison of German and Japanese developments in the recent *Reden und Ansprachen* as a sample of the culture-history method. It rests entirely on the argument from analogy, but is used to give support to the culture-epochs doctrine. Dogmatic presuppositions, systematic constructions, forced interpretations, confront us everywhere. At the best the historical worker is bound to be plagued by his own prejudices and points of view; he must guard against them right and left. But when he mistakes his prejudices and points of view for the ground principles of science, the result may be something worth while, but cannot be proper history.

There remains the matter of the Institute in its relation to Lamprecht's method. In the words of a disciple and helper of Lamprecht, the purpose of the Institute is "to combine into one organic whole the prosecution of studies in the fields of religion, psychology, economics, and politics, so far as they shed any light on the larger problems of an universal cultural history of the human race." H. G. James (*Nation* XCIII, 189). In idea this project looks noble and splendid. To combine the great social sciences into one body of instruction, and focus its strength on the great problems of history, is surely a worthy enterprise. But why not add a few more, and call it a university? Why should the historian be his own economist, his own psychologist, any more than his own philologist, his own archaeologist? And who are to teach these sciences in the Institute?

In the light of these queries, the meaning of the Royal Saxon Institute needs little comment. It has done much admirable work, and will do much more. But in its motive it is simply a highly-organized propaganda for the new culture-history. It is true the other social sciences can help the historian in his task; it is true that close coöperation among these branches of learning is essential. But it must be the free coöperation of independent sciences in an open field, with no subjection of any one to any other. Any other *modus vivendi* is unthinkable in the world of letters. Through his Institute, Lamprecht seems to say to his fellow-workers: "You will not teach the psychology, the sociology, the economics, I want; therefore I must teach them myself."

I promised not to prophesy, and I will keep my promise. But one may be allowed an inference or two. If historical science is to be true to its own tradition, it cannot follow the course laid out by the new culture-history. It cannot become the satellite of any other science; it cannot exalt the theory above the fact; it cannot speculate where it should investigate; it cannot guess where it ought to know. The history of the future must be true to itself, loyal to its own inner vision. Impartial, truth-telling, holding an even balance in judgment, it must continue to tell the deeds of real men in a real world. Thus alone can it keep its high calling as the noblest of human sciences, fulfilling the mandate Thucydides laid upon himself when he said of his own great work: "but as many as shall wish to see the truth of what *has* happened, and *will* hereafter happen again, according to human nature . . . for such to think it useful will be sufficient." Book I, ch. 22.)

#### DAVID A. WELLS PRIZE AT HARVARD.

The David A. Wells Prize in economics for the current year has been awarded to Norman Scott Brien Gras, Ph.D. 1912, of London, Ontario, for a thesis entitled "The Evolution of the English Corn Market (1100-1700)."

This prize of \$500 is offered for the best thesis, embodying the results of original investigation, upon some subject in the field of economics.

The judges were Mr. Robert Treat Paine and Professor M. B. Hammond of Ohio State University.

## Reorganization of High School Courses

BY C. A. SPRAGUE, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, WAITSBURG, WASH.

Education is in a state of ferment. Its processes, its purpose, its success have been subjected to a close scrutiny and careful appraisal. The cause of the unrest is the necessity of adapting our educational institutions to a national life that has radically changed. Time was, at the founding of our government, when education above the crudest knowledge was part of the equipment of the gentleman only. It was an accomplishment like skill in music and dancing. In our changed economic life education is no longer a mere adjunct of gentility, a social grace, or a means for social distinction; now education is a prime necessity in the struggle for existence. Education may not now aim to make youth socially desirable; it must aim to make youth socially efficient.

From this change in educational objective has grown the movement for vocational education. And because vocational education is obviously vital to life some of its advocates claim that it alone constitutes the redirected education; and thus would limit other courses to strictly utilitarian values. As a matter of fact the vocational idea is only partial. The business of education is not simply to teach a boy a trade, though that is good; but rather the development of his mind and character that he may live a life. The need is for the redirection of all courses and processes in education not from the standpoint of mere utilitarian values, but with the broad aim of the harmonious adaptation of each individual to his part in the social complex. In the light of this new aim, I wish to propose a reorganization of the courses in secondary history and political science.

The present plan with reference to history and political science in the high schools of the Northwest indicates apparent neglect. Between the movement for industrial education on one hand and the one for a more flexible curriculum on the other, history and kindred subjects have been relegated to the background. The courses are oftentimes mere paper-courses. In this state the subjects are thrown into the list of options; and since the requirement of one year of American History and Civics was supplanted by one for a year of any history, the disorganization of the course seems complete. The high schools themselves have treated history carelessly, regarding the courses often as fillers in the schedule. Instructors whose time is not completely taken up with classes in their own department are assigned history classes as supplemental; and not infrequently the odd classes in history are given to the athletic coach, because there he may do less injury than in any other department. In the 410 high schools of this state (Washington) and the many hundreds of high school teachers, only thirty-eight instructors last year were handling history and political science subjects exclusively. Of these, about eight were super-

intendents or principals, teaching only one or two classes; and of the remaining thirty, twenty-four, or five-sixths of them, were connected with the city high schools in Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma. No wonder history is as the valley full of dead men's bones. So long as history courses are thus split up, the instruction devitalized and disorganized, history is bound to be a neglected field. What is needed is a well-organized and well-directed four years' course in history and political science; and this course should be recognized as a major, the same as English and science are majors at present. The second need is the placing of the instruction in the hands of qualified history teachers. Then a new spirit ought to animate the work and history study attain its merited prominence in the school curriculum.

What then should be the correct values and the proper objectives in this high school course? To my mind history is essentially the study of social relations and social development. Other subjects treat of other relations; arithmetic of the relations of numbers; geometry of the relations of lines and dimensions; physics of the relations of forces; chemistry of the relations of atoms. All these are mere objects of nature. History alone is the science treating of human relations throughout the long period of man's residence on earth. The society and institutions to-day are the social and biological heritage of the past; and history from its study of social development, involves a knowledge of the nature and value of this social heritage. The big objective of history study should therefore be the development of the social sense, the qualification of youth by a study of the record and principles of human development for successfully assuming the social relations and obligations of modern life. The recognition of this aim is the especial function of the American high school, for the success of American democracy depends entirely upon the active and intelligent participation by the average man, in public affairs. The cultural value in the accumulation of a great fund of information, with its reward of understanding the numerous allusions in literature and art; the pedagogic value in the training of the judgment in the sense of justice and proportion in historical problems where the solutions are inexact and open to dispute; and the great subjective value of training in right ethical standards,—these values while immeasurable, must still be regarded as by-products. Definite training in citizenship, a major function of the school, is the particular business of history and political science. Thus handled, these subjects form an invaluable bridge or connecting link between the so-called practical subjects and cultural subjects. And only when thus handled will history and political science become vital and thus in harmony with the new objective in education.



It is in the spirit of this aim that I would suggest the following arrangement of courses:

- I. Medieval History to the Reformation;  
Ancient History sketch: 8 to 10 weeks.
- II. Modern History from the beginning of the Reformation to the present; with emphasis on English development.
- III. American History.
- IV. American Government, one semester;  
Economics, one semester.  
Supplemental: History of the Pacific Northwest, one semester.

A student electing history and political science as his major, should carry the work through four years. The amount that should be required of all students depends altogether on how flexible the curriculum is.

It will at once be seen that this entails radical departure from the course recommended by the Committee of Seven in 1896; and the one recommended by the Committee of Five in 1911. The former proposed:

- I. Ancient History to 800 A.D.
- II. Medieval and Modern History.
- III. English History.
- IV. American History and Government.

This is the one laid down in the Washington Manual and the one in common use. The Committee of Five reporting two years ago, recognized a demand for more time for Modern History and a separate allotment for American Government. But hesitating to make any radical change they suggested a diversion of emphasis and a rearrangement of the schedule thus:

- I. Ancient History to 800 A.D.
- II. English History to 1760.
- III. Modern History, with English History since 1760.
- IV. American History and Government.

To me the first seems antiquated, and the second inarticulate and inadequate. With the exception of a paltry two-fifths of a year for civics, both courses give four years to history. But if our course is to function for citizenship, it would seem that at least a year should be devoted to political science, for that represents the articulation of history values with the life of to-day. Granting this, the real problem is the proper division of time in the three years' course in history. This might be settled by omitting some period as the Committee of Seven suggests; or by elimination and condensation as the Committee of Five suggests. But it seems to me that the whole problem of the history course should be settled not from the standpoint of history alone, but from the consideration of the ends which history study is to serve. Too long have we regarded history merely as desirable knowledge of the past: it is time to regard first its educational values in the development of the youth of the present. Let us then examine the proposed blocks and test them according to this standard.

In the first course I have suggested that after a six to ten weeks' study of Ancient History the time be spent in the study of Medieval History up to the Reformation; or the course might be denominated European History, that term to include Mohammedanism, the Crusades and the Turks. This elimination of a great portion of Ancient History may seem extreme; but the real values of Ancient History have been so much submerged in a mass of military details, dynastic minutiae, and political and constitutional distinctions that the student, whose sense of proportion is peculiarly dull, fails to realize them. A knowledge of the heritage of Greece and Rome and the other nations is the desideratum of the course; and it seems to me that a brief appreciative sketch of Grecian, Roman and Hebrew contributions to civilization will be far more vital and effective; and will in addition overcome the common distaste for history which Ancient History gives because of its remoteness, foreignness and its apparent lack of consequence. After a close articulation with Roman history through the civilization which survived the fall of the Western Empire, Medieval History should trace in flowing style and untechnical material, the fusion of the varying factors which produced the society and the national life of modern Europe. The racial character of the Teutons, the development of papacy and the Church, the rise of feudalism, the clash with Mohammedanism, the rise of cities and the modern states, the flowering of intellectual life and aspiration in the Renaissance are all of such tremendous significance to modern development that this field deserves careful treatment.

The second course, Modern Europe, may be handled during the year allotted to it so that the emphasis may be put on English History. Since England is so closely connected with the Continent throughout its history, it seems unnecessary to go over the ground independently; and particularly when by the elimination of civics, American History may be made to include the tracings of its European origins. As the Committee of Five seems to recognize in response to the widespread demand of teachers, a year is necessary to properly study and appreciate the Reformation, the Eras of Absolutism and Democracy, and the present industrial epoch.

The third course is in American History. Leaving the fact side for elementary history, the treatment in high school should embrace a study of the institutional development of America from its European base through its rapid Western growth. The course should include careful treatment of the industrial period since the Civil War and the problems arising out of industrial growth.

In the fourth year's work in government a semester is all too short. But if the year of American History develops the historical connection of our institutions such as the Constitution and political parties, a semester may suffice. The study should be a practical, laboratory study of the actual workings of government and of the problems of state and nation.

(Continued on page 235.)

# Ancient History in the Secondary School

BY CLARA G. DILKS AND ELOISE R. TREMAIN, PHILADELPHIA HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

The reasons for teaching ancient history at the beginning of a child's high school course in history group themselves under the following heads:—

- I. The appeal of the subject matter at that period of his development.
- II. Its necessity as a background for his intelligent comprehension of literature, art and modern history.
- III. Its relation to his everyday life as a good citizen.
- IV. Why this relation makes ancient history the valuable period for both the child who leaves the high school early in the course, and for the child who remains to the end.

I. In the first place, both Greek and Roman history contain big personalities which appeal to the hero-worshipping tendency of a child of that age, and which, if rightly presented, never fail to stimulate him to personal effort and to hold his interest in the period in which they stand. The very differences between the manners, customs and ideals depicted in ancient history and those of the child's own environment awaken both curiosity and a desire to compare the relative value of the ideas of the ancient life with those of his own.

It is absurd to maintain that younger students are not interested in ancient history or that it is too difficult for them. To convince herself of the truth of this statement, one of the teachers in the Philadelphia High School for Girls tried the following experiment: One hundred and two girls, one-half of whom were not her pupils in ancient history, were asked to answer these questions: "Were you interested in ancient history?" "Why?" "Would you approve of its being taken out of the beginning of your high school course in history?" In order that no pressure might be felt by the students, they were asked to place anonymous answers in a box. The following rather astonishing results were obtained:

Ninety-four girls declared their interest; five liked it on the whole, but found parts dull; and only three decided it was uninteresting and wanted it taken from the course. The reasons given, though childish and sometimes amusing, were surprisingly clear-sighted. In general they referred to their liking for the myths, the novelty of the life of the ancients, their love of the heroes, a better understanding of literature, newspapers, magazines, pictures, cartoons, and even the illumination of their grammar school work in United States government and history.

From a pedagogical standpoint, ancient history is most comprehensive to the immature student, and therefore easier than any other history dealing with more complex problems. In English history, for example, before we can develop the part played by the

barons we must explain what barons are; we have to deal with such abstract ideas as feudalism, papacy, church and state; whereas in Greek and Roman history, where the life of the people is less involved, the child at the age of concrete ideas understands his history more readily and is, therefore, immediately interested.

The enthusiasm once awakened is increased by the many and available aids to visualization in ancient history. Pictures, casts, vases and lantern slides to help the pupil reconstruct the artistic and economic life of the ancients are more easily procured and more within the reach of the pupils than they are for other periods of history.

In the necessary process of reconstructing any stage of man's development, the pupil should be trained, to some degree at least, in the examination and the criticism of the sources of his historical knowledge. No period of history offers a better opportunity than the ancient for an introduction to this study of source-material. Our first hand information, though comparatively meagre, is accessible almost in its entirety for school-room use, and suggests problems interesting and suitable for the young high school student. We may, for example, arouse the child's critical instinct by asking him to compare selected portions of the writings of Homer and of Herodotus with Greek vases for a specific problem in Greek life, such as a study of the games, dress and occupations of the Greeks. We may discuss the character of the barbarians entering the Roman Empire by asking the pupil to examine selections from Caesar and Tacitus to see whether they agree in their descriptions of the Germans.

II. On the subject of its literary and artistic value its necessity is so obvious that to dwell on this point would seem waste time. Do you not, if you deprive the child of ancient history, rob him of full enjoyment, nay, even, of any real understanding of literature and art? Literature bristles with allusions to ancient history. The reader is not going to look up every allusion, but if he did, the scrappy information he gleaned could not take the place of the larger comprehension which would come from an acquaintance with the life of the ancients.

Political speakers, preachers and cartoonists frequently illustrate their points by facts from ancient history. If anyone doubts this, we urge him to make a collection for three months from current newspapers, magazines and sermons of the phrases and comparisons drawn from the life of the Greeks and Romans. We promise that he will be as much surprised as the writers of this paper were by a similar experiment. Even the popular dramatist, to make clear a point, often refers to a supposedly familiar

incident in ancient history. What a picture presents itself to the imagination of a person who has studied ancient history, when William Hodge in *"The Man from Home"* remarks: "If you begin to cross the Rubicon, don't stick in the middle, but reach the other side," and how little it means to one who has not.

In America we are clamoring for free art galleries, for museums that shall be open at hours convenient for the working man that he may find uplifting enjoyment. Do we want him to go to these places with no knowledge of the past, and, therefore, with no intelligent comprehension of what he sees?

III. If no correlation is made between ancient history and twentieth century problems of citizenship, it is the fault of the teacher, and not because of the impossibility of such connection. Multiplicity of examples embarrasses us, but we suggest the following parallels chosen at random:—

Ancient History.	Modern Subject to be Suggested at the Same Time.
1. Greek and Roman Government: a. Tribal Governments. b. Development of different kinds of Greek Government.	1. What is government? What is its origin? What are its functions? What are its modern forms?
2. Training of Spartan and Athenian youths respectively. Object—a good citizen.	2. In what respect would the Spartan ideal of a citizen be a poor one to-day? What qualities do we demand to-day, and what changes ought to be made in our standards of citizenship?
3. Persian Wars. Great incidents and heroes. Difference between Oriental and Western cultures.	3. Who are our heroes to-day? Conflict of nations in Persia to-day. Modern civilization of Orient.
4. Periclean Problems. Care of widows and sick foreigners as citizens.	4. Mothers' pension bills. State insurance. Japanese Land Bill. Immigration.
5. Beautifying of Athens.	5. Examination of buildings, bridges, roads in our own community. Who would work better for a beautiful city, the man who knows only every corner of his own city, or the man who knows also the architecture of the Acropolis and Forum, and the possibilities for combining utilitarian and artistic qualities as shown in Roman roads, arches, aqueducts?

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|---|--|
| 6. Influence of the Greek spirit—<br>Independent, critical attitude.  | 6. The spirit of the Modern Age is the spirit of ancient times developed and modified by the Renaissance, the Reformation and by modern industrial and social movements. |
| 7. Influence of Greek religion in their games and standard of living.<br>Deterioration of society in the Roman Empire partly as the result of the loss of vital religious ideals. | 7. Part played by religion in the life of a community.   |
| 8. Unrest 133 B.C.-31 B.C.<br>Lack of economics and political theory.   | 8. Could such a condition repeat itself?<br>Causes of unrest to-day.   |
| 9. Expansion of Roman Empire.<br>Her inability to meet economic problems.   | 9. General directions of expansion to-day. Expansion of United States. Handling of problems of expansion.  |
| 10. Slavery in Roman Empire.<br>Evils, economic, social, political.   | 10. Modern emancipation movements in United States and Europe.<br>Mexico and peonage.  |
| 11. Reasons for Constantine's changing the capital to Byzantium.  | 11. Constantinople to-day.<br>The Turk in Europe.<br>Balkan War.   |
| 12. Amusements.   | 12. Contrasts to-day.  |

IV. This connection between the past and the present makes ancient history most valuable to the student who will not complete his high school course. The exigencies of his environment, the newspapers, the magazines, the pictures—both static and moving—grasping and gripping the eye and mind of the young, will force modern problems and conditions upon him. Will not a clearer and more balanced judgment be reached by the young citizen whose experience with men and affairs does not stop with the life of his own generation, but who has acquaintance also with men and affairs of an age and nation differing from his own? From this viewpoint we feel that ancient history is not a luxury, it is a necessity.

The child, also, who will continue his history work throughout the high school course must study its beginnings in order to learn the fundamental lesson of cause and effect and a sense of the inevitableness of history from stage to stage and age to age. No hop, skip and jump method will serve this purpose. History may be condensed and must be, but it should start with the foundations and build upward, or it will fail to make its contribution to human sanity and ethics. To be of real value, history must be well grounded and must be linked—the past with the present, the present with the future.



# The Teaching of Greek History

## II. THE UNITY OF GREEK HISTORY

BY PROFESSOR FRED MORROW FLING, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

If a period in history is to be taught successfully, the teacher must comprehend it as an historical whole. Without this guide which enables him to determine what to include in his synthesis, what to stress and what to touch but lightly, in dealing with the vast number of disparate facts from which a large historical synthesis is to be constructed, he is likely to find himself "in a dark wood astray."

What constitutes the unity of Greek history? Where does it begin and where does it end? What are the significant changes through which the Greek peoples passed and what are the casual connections between them?

I have purposely avoided the use of the term "history of Greece." It conveys a radically false impression touching the history of the Greek peoples, and is a stumbling block in the way of the correct understanding of that history. The term "Greece" to-day connotes political, national unity; in the period before the birth of Christ, it had no such connotation. To-day it means, geographically, the southernmost part of the Balkan peninsula; then it meant more, much more, embracing all the lands where the Greek peoples dwelt. It is important, then, at the outset to realize that the unity in the history of the Greek peoples is not the unity found in the history of France or of Germany. The Greek peoples never formed an independent nation, were never united in a political whole until they were incorporated in the Roman empire. If the terms "Hellas" and "Hellenes" were sometimes used to designate all the lands in which Greeks dwelt and the kinship of the dwellers in those lands, the terms had even less significance in practical politics than Arndt's "German Fatherland" (wherever the German tongue was spoken), for the German dreamed of a restoration, while the Greek had no precedent to appeal to. The history of the Greek peoples was a complex history, more complex than the history of modern Europe, Guizot to the contrary notwithstanding. To simplify it is to falsify it. It is true that language, literature and religion gradually produced a strong community of feeling among the Greeks and led them to distinguish themselves from the non-Greek peoples—"barbarians," but not necessarily uncivilized—of the Mediterranean basin, but too much should not be made of this fact. It is a mistake to lay too great and too persistent emphasis upon devotion to "Hellas," to make no distinction between the earlier and later attitude of the Greeks toward the peoples of the east. We might borrow with benefit, for use in our Greek history, the term coined by Metternich for Italy and say, "Hellas was a geographical expression." For the impulse to combine all these

states with a Greek population into one political whole was probably never very widespread or effective. The history of the Greek world, then, should bear a closer resemblance to the history of Europe than to that of any single European state. To speak of the "history of Greece" is to assume as existing at the outset what the Greeks failed to create during the whole period of their independent history, namely a common political machinery by which an almost infinite number of petty, independent, warring states might be organized into a national state. The final loss of the political independence of the Greek states was largely due to their inability to realize the compelling necessity of such an organization.

If we turn to ethnology in the hope of finding a basis for this unity denied by politics, the case is no better. Who were the Greeks? Were they all the inhabitants of the Greek lands? Or were they exclusively the descendants of the northern conquerors, the Achaeans and the Dorians? Can a correct history of the people of the eastern Mediterranean be written from the latter point of view? How large a proportion of the population of the eastern Mediterranean was composed of the descendants of the peoples who occupied those lands when they were conquered by the men from the north? This is no idle question. In the two thousand years before the descent of the northmen, a brilliant civilization flourished upon the coasts and islands of the Aegean; it even spread into the western Mediterranean. Did the invaders destroy the peoples who produced it, or did the descendants of the conquerors fuse with the descendants of the conquered and bring forth the even more brilliant civilization of the fifth century, the age of Pericles? The latter hypothesis would seem to be a reasonable one. The civilization of the eastern Mediterranean was the work of a number of peoples, of whom the white men from the north were not necessarily the most numerous.

If our synthesis cannot be founded either upon political or race unity, in what does its unity consist? Clearly in the conscious or unconscious efforts of this group of peoples to attain to social unity; to create a society governed by justice and law and offering the most favorable conditions possible at that time for the development of the individual. Migrations, conquests, the shifting of political boundaries, colonies, the city state, confederations, empires, all are but the outward expressions of the efforts of these peoples to give unity to their social life. What directions their efforts took, how successful they were, these are the problems of the synthesis of Greek history. To state, then, is to set the

limits of the history; the stone age of the Mediterranean forms its first chapter, the Roman conquest its last, or, formulated in terms of years, it extends from about 10,000 to 31 B.C.

Nearly nine-tenths of this long period of time must be allotted to the social activities of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean before the appearance of the white men from the north. Of these nine or ten thousand years, eight thousand at least must be set aside for the slow beginnings of social life in the stone age; some two thousand fall to the bronze age, culminating in the brilliant Minoan civilization of Crete, revealed to us in the last ten years by the spade of the excavator. This civilization was (1) the work of the brown man from Northern Africa; (2) it was indigenous and not the result of influences from Egypt, Phoenicia and Asia Minor; (3) it was quite as old, if not older, than the civilizations of the Nile and the Euphrates; (4) it occupied much the same area in the Mediterranean that was afterwards occupied by the so-called Greek civilization of the sixth century; (5) a great naval empire was created—the forerunner of the Athenian empire—with its capital at Knossos in Crete; (6) in writing, building, art, architecture and religion this civilization had nothing to fear from a comparison with the civilizations of the Nile and the Euphrates; (7) it supplied the foundations upon which the Greeks built and even furnished the builders; it was the forerunner of the age of Pericles. At about 1400 B.C. the empire of the Minoan kings came to an end, and the power in the Aegean passed to the mainland to the rulers of Mycene and Tiryns. This shifting of power may have been due to the movement of the peoples from the north into the Aegean basin, which marked the passing of the civilization of Crete and Mycene and the mingling of the dark and white men from which the new civilization was to spring.

The invaders were not barbarians, at least not the first swarm, but came from the region of the Danube, where the archaeologist has discovered traces of a well-developed social life. One band of the northerners followed another, slowly overrunning and taking possession of the Balkan peninsula and many of the islands to the southeast. The movement was, doubtless, not unlike that of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when the Germans overran the Roman empire, setting up kingdoms in which the attempt was made to fuse the German and Roman elements. Something of a similar nature happened in the Aegean lands. What the life of the invaders was like after they had established themselves in the seats of the rulers of the older civilization is shown by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a product of the Achaean period. It was the twilight of the Minoan civilization. The invasion of the Dorians was followed by a long period of darkness. Of these four hundred years, from the advent of the Achaeans to the revival of civilization in Ionia, we know practically nothing. The older civilization so far passed away that its remains became unintelligible and were overrun by a picturesque growth of myth and legend much of which the historian will never be able to penetrate.

The light broke at last in Ionia. Here a population from overseas, a mixture of the descendants of the brown men of the earlier civilization and the white men from the north, in contact with and influenced by the civilization of Lydia, gave birth to a composite culture, a renaissance of the Minoan culture modified and enriched by the contributions of the north and the east, destined to form a connecting link between the early civilization of the Aegean and the Age of Pericles. This period of a new life on the eastern coast of the Aegean was also a period of colonization. For the next two centuries—roughly from eight hundred to six hundred B.C.—currents of humanity were passing back and forth in the Aegean and from the coasts and islands of the Aegean to the coasts of the Black Sea, of Italy, of Sicily and of the western Mediterranean, waking to new life places which had already shared in the early civilization born in the Aegean. It was the period of the first expansion of Greek life beyond the Aegean. This expansion to the north and west was supplemented in the fourth century, as the result of Alexander's conquests, by a movement to the east. The two movements are but parts of one great whole, two related chapters in the spread of Greek civilization and of deep significance for the whole history of the Greek peoples. "The Greeks," wrote a French historian, "scattered themselves around the Mediterranean." This characterization of the expansion of the Greek world distinguishes it fundamentally from Roman expansion. From a large number of independent Greek political centers went out agricultural colonies to found on distant shores new independent political centers. The Greek world grew larger thereby, but it also grew more politically complex, more difficult to organize into a political whole. The lack of continuity in the Greek settlements outside the Aegean would have made it extremely difficult to maintain a single Greek state against a powerful, compact state, controlling the hinterland, even had it been possible to form one out of the scattered Greek peoples. Rome, on the other hand, expanded by annexing contiguous territory and organizing it into a compact whole. Accordingly, when Rome, mistress of the entire western Mediterranean, crossed the Adriatic, it was only a question of time as to when the complex divided eastern world would fall under its control.

The peoples of the Greek world of the period of Ionian leadership and colonization, the period of dawn after the darkness of the migrations, had much in common. Language and literature formed bonds, binding them to each other and differentiating them from the non-Greek peoples around them. Delphi was the religious center and played an important rôle in connection with colonization and international affairs, suggesting the rôle of papal Rome in the middle ages. The important states in this period were not found in the Balkan peninsula, but in Asia Minor, in southern Italy and Sicily. The center of the new life in the Aegean was not Athens, but the great colonizing state of Miletus. It was the connecting link between the Orient and the Greek west.

The wealth of Ionia formed the economic basis for the new art, literature and philosophy. Some attempts at larger social organizations were seen in the amphictyonies formed around the temples of the gods, but these organizations had no political future. The games celebrated in honor of the gods at Olympia, at Nemea, at Corinth and at Delphi, strengthened the community of feeling among the Greeks, but did little to lessen the international rivalry among the Greek states. That rivalry seemed to be rendered inevitable by the form the state had taken.

The city state was the characteristic organization of the political life of the Greek peoples. We are not concerned here with the question of how this type of a state came into existence; the fatal thing for the formation of a united Greece was the fact that the seven or eight millions of people composing the Greek world—not much larger than the population of London—had, at an early date formed themselves into a large number of petty, but sovereign, states, each with a few thousand inhabitants. The city was not simply a center of population; it was a state, a fatherland, a nation. In such a state the citizen was as intimately acquainted with national and international affairs as with local politics, and when a community, after passing through the successive stages of monarchy, aristocracy and tyranny, through which most of the Greek states passed at this time, finally blossomed out as a democratic commonwealth, conditions were created which aroused individual ambition and stimulated human genius to productive activity to be paralleled by perhaps but one other period in the world's history, that of the Italian republics of the Renaissance.

At the close of the sixth century, the leadership in the Greek world passed from the eastern to the western coast of the Aegean. The chief cause of this change is to be found in the relation of the Greek states to the states of the east. In the sixth century, the Greek states of Asia Minor had fallen under the domination of Lydia, but without suffering great detriment from this relation. Lydia meddled but little in their internal affairs, and rapidly became a Greek among Greeks. When, however, with the fall of Lydia, the Greek states became parts of the great Persian empire a situation was created which, in the end, gave rise to a long and bitter international struggle.

Just as the Greek world in the east suffered from contact with Persia, so in the west it was threatened by the expansion of Carthage. Here the battle ground was Sicily. Both in the east and in the west it was perfectly natural for the rivals of the Greek states to extend their boundaries. In the east, Persia had no natural frontier on the side of the Greek world. The Aegean formed a highway, not a barrier, between the peoples of its eastern and western coasts. When trouble arose between the Persian emperor and his Greek subjects, the Greeks naturally appealed for help to their kinsmen on the opposite coast. The only way to put an end to these chronic revolts seemed to be to incorporate all the Greek states into the empire. In Sicily the same state of permanent

hostility between Carthaginians and Greeks existed; Sicily must be all Greek or all Carthaginian. The ambition of the Carthaginian to possess the island was as legitimate as that of the Greek. It seemed quite within the bounds of possibility that the advance of these two strongly centralized Asiatic powers, one from the east and the other from the west, would end in the total extinction of the independent Greek states. The Adriatic would form a natural frontier between the conquerors. What effect such a result would have had upon the art, literature and philosophy of the later Greek world may be easily imagined. The conditions rendering them possible would have been swept away. The problem in the west was not to be settled by the Greeks, but by the Romans; in the east, after an intermittent warfare of two centuries, the Greeks, under the leadership of a king, ruler of a people with veneer of Greek culture, were to destroy the Persian empire.

For Persia to incorporate into the empire the independent Greek states of the Aegean seemed no difficult task. At the end of the sixth century the region south of the Danube had been invaded, and there was no reason to believe that greater difficulties would be encountered in pushing on to the south of the peninsula than had been met with in conquering the states of Asia Minor. Furthermore, such action seemed politically sound; free Greek states on the west side of the Aegean made it difficult to rule over subject Greek states on the opposite coast. The Greeks of Asia Minor had been subject to Persia for forty years when the great struggle began; it extended over twenty years. It opened on the east coast with a revolt of the Greek states of Asia Minor, lasting five years. The most of the states of the coast and islands drove out their tyrants and threw themselves vigorously into the struggle. They were finally defeated in a great naval battle at Lade and shortly after Miletus was taken by storm. But little assistance had been received from the Greek states across the Aegean. Sparta was too busy in a war with Argus to send aid; Athens and Eretria alone took part in the struggle. Both were bound to Miletus by commercial ties while Athens had a personal reason for its action; Hippias, the expelled tyrant, had taken refuge with a Persian satrap in Asia Minor and the Athenians had been summoned to take back their former ruler; Athens hoped to anticipate an attack from the other side of the Aegean. The invasion of the Balkan peninsula was the natural consequence of the suppression of the Ionic revolt. The first two invasions, however, were ostensibly directed against Athens and Eretria, the two states that aided the revolting states of Asia Minor. The first invasion did not reach Thessaly, but served to establish Persian control in Thrace and Macedonia, bringing the frontier of the empire to Thessaly. The second expedition crossed the Aegean and, after taking possession of the islands on the way and seizing Eretria, the Persians landed on Attic soil at Marathon. The situation was a serious one. With Attica in the possession of Persia, any combined resistance of the northern and southern states of the



peninsula would be rendered difficult, if not impossible. And yet only two states showed any inclination to take part in the struggle against the Persian advance, Plataea sent a contingent to fight with the Athenians, but the Spartan force arrived only after the victory had been won. The forces at Marathon were probably not unequal, and the defeat of the Persians was due, doubtless, to the superior arms and armor of the Greeks. There was nothing decisive about the battle of Marathon. It proved that the Persians were not invincible, and it made clear to the Persian emperor that the task of taking possession of the rest of the peninsula was more difficult than had been supposed. Ten years—a revolt in Egypt must be put down—passed before the last and culminating act in the struggle. That Xerxes finally led three million, or even one million, men into Europe is not only improbable, but practically impossible. His army may have numbered one hundred thousand. It was enough for the purpose. He had no united Greece before him. Some of the Greek states remained neutral. Many states submitted in advance; Greek states in Asia Minor supplied men and ships to the Persian fleet; while from Delphi came utterances plainly indicating that the oracle believed resistance was useless. Sparta was the natural leader of the Greek states determined to resist the advance of the Persian; Athens, although possessing more ships than Sparta, placed them under the command of a Spartan admiral. The outcome of the first operations of the war seemed to justify the pessimism of Delphi. The Vale of Tempe, occupied by a Greek force, was abandoned before a blow had been struck; Thermopylae, defended by a small force, was at last carried; Artemisium was a drawn battle, and the invading army swept unopposed over Boeotia and Attica, while the Persian fleet sailed around Euboea and came to anchor off the Attic coast. The Persians were in control of the peninsula as far south as the isthmus; the allies talked of retiring to the Peloponnesus. The battle of Salamis was the first check to the invasion, but it did not end the war nor indicate what its outcome would be. The Persian fleet, still as numerous probably as the Greek, sailed away to the Hellespont, but an army of probably sixty thousand men, the pick of the Persian forces, passed the winter in Thrace. Attica was temporarily abandoned. The next spring it was again invaded and Athens was burned. The battle of Plataea, fought in the same year between the Persian and the Greek allies—the armies probably being about equal in number—resulted in a victory for the Greeks and decided the outcome of the long struggle. The Persian army was not annihilated, but retired in good order to Asia Minor, the lack of cavalry making it impossible for the Greeks to pursue. A Persian army was never again to appear in the Balkan peninsula.

The Greeks now took the offensive. The destruction of the Persian fleet at Mycale was followed by the revolt of the Ionic cities and a consequent increase in the size of the Greek fleet. Under the leadership of Sparta and Athens the Persian garri-

sons were expelled from the islands of the Aegean and from positions on the Hellespont. The leadership then passed to Athens, Sparta ceasing to take part in the war, and the Persians, driven from one position after another, were forced out of the Aegean and even pursued into Cyprus and the southeastern Mediterranean. These striking results were due to the formation of the confederacy of Delos, the most promising political union in the history of the Greek peoples. At its height it comprised some two hundred states, covering the coasts and islands of the Aegean. The league was organized by Aristides; Athens was the leader in war, and Athenians were treasurers. As the result of its position in the league and the decline of Miletus, which transferred the commercial power as well as the political power in the Aegean to Athens, the city rose to the position of a great state. Not only had the attempt of Persia to conquer the Greek states led to one of the most remarkable movements toward Greek unity in the history of the Greek peoples, but the same period was characterized by the overthrow of tyrants in the Greek states and the spread of democracy throughout the Greek world.

In the west the Greeks had been as fortunate as in the east. At Himera, probably in the same year in which the battle of Salamis was fought, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, had defeated the Carthaginians and united all the Greek states of the island under his rule. His successor, Hieron, extended his influence to southern Italy, dealing a severe blow at the Etruscans by defeating them at Kyme. Not only had the Greek world defended itself successfully against foreign invasion, but out of the disorder of petty states, existing before the wars, had come three great states, the Delian confederacy and the military monarchies of Sparta and Syracuse. Would it be possible to fuse these three into one political organization? For a time it seemed as if Athens might accomplish the task, might weld the Greek world together by "blood and iron."

It was not as the head of a confederation, however, that the attempt was to be made. Athens naturally grew great in wealth and political power at the expense of the other members of the league and to maintain its position was led to transform the voluntary league into an empire, to make subjects out of allies. This change had begun only a few years after the battle of Plataea; at the end of thirty years, only three of the island states remained on the footing of allies. Utilizing the resources in men and ships thus placed at its command, Athens pushed its conquests both on land and sea. It allied itself with Argos, Megara, parts of Thessaly, Phocis, Locris and Achaia; it got control of Boeotia; attacked Aegina and sent a fleet to Egypt to aid the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia. The opposition of Sparta and the failure of the Egyptian expedition put an end to the Athenian advance and led to a thirty-year truce (445). Most of the land conquests were lost and Athens fell back to the position of a great naval power. The building of the long walls from the city to the harbor rendered it indifferent

to the fate of Attica, so long as it was mistress of the sea. Athens in Attica was as isolated as England on its island. The expansion of the naval dominion of Athens was a natural one, and the conflict between Sparta and Athens became inevitable. The allies were dissatisfied and looking for an opportunity to revolt; the commercial interests of Athens naturally clashed with those of Megara and Corinth; no naval power unaided could hope to resist Athens, and if Athens were allowed to add all the sea states to its dominions, what would become of the freedom of the Greek world? Could even Sparta hope to escape subjection in the end?

This situation led to a series of wars extending over thirty years, ending in the overthrow of Athens. In the first period of the struggle, the ten years' war, Attica was invaded, but Athens was unconquered and made an advantageous peace with Sparta. The war had begun to the cry "Free the Greeks!" but it ended with Athens still at the head of its naval empire; the allies were still subjects. The great foe of Athens in the Aegean was, also, intact; Sparta and Athens even entered into an alliance to carry out the terms of the peace against the recalcitrant allies of Sparta. Before the war broke out again with Sparta, the expansionist party at Athens had engaged the state in a ruinous attempt to conquer Sicily. During the first war with Sparta, Athens had extended its dominion to Corcyra in the west and had begun to take part in the internal affairs of Sicily. The suspicion that the Athenians hoped to get a foothold on the island led to peace among the warring factions in Sicily and the rise of the party of Nicias to power caused the abandonment, temporarily, of the policy of expansion. A few years after the peace with Sparta, the attempt in Sicily was renewed on a great scale. The ruinous outcome of the venture was followed by an uprising of the subject allies of Athens and a renewal of the war in the Aegean. So long as Athens could control the sea, the allies could not revolt; they could not revolt without aid in the form of a fleet. Persia, in alliance with Sparta, supplied the ships and the money to pay the sailors. The consideration was to be the possession of the Greek states of Asia Minor. The Athenian fleet was destroyed, Athens was besieged by land and sea and finally starved into submission. The most promising attempt to unify the Greeks had failed.

The period of Athenian leadership in the Greek world had not, however, been unfruitful. It was during these years, when Athens was the Paris of the Aegean, that the most of the great works, which have rendered the Greeks immortal, were produced. It was at this time that the city was adorned with temples and statuary and paintings; that the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes were performed before great audiences; that Herodotus recited his prose epic of the Persian wars and Thucydides wrote his history of the Peloponnesian wars; that Socrates taught in the streets and market place and Plato and Xenophon were his disciples. It was the golden age of Athens and of the Greek

world. In this work, the Greeks found a spiritual unity denied them in politics. The language of Athens became the language of all cultivated Greeks, and the Ionic alphabet became the universal medium for the written expression of this language. After the fall of the Athenian empire, the spiritual headship of the Greek world still remained with Athens; the political control passed to Sparta.

But Sparta had conquered at a great cost; the Persian power had been admitted again into the Aegean. For the next seventy years, Persia was to play a rôle among the Greek states such as she had never played before the invasion of the fifth century, accomplishing with her gold what she had never been able to accomplish by her arms. Sparta had conquered Athens aided by Persia and the allies of Athens, but it was unwilling to pay the price. The Greek states of Asia Minor were not abandoned to Persia nor were the cities of the Aegean set free; the rule of Sparta succeeded to that of Athens. Persia must, however, be reckoned with. The aid given to Cyrus by Sparta led to open hostility between the empire and the Spartans of Asia Minor. The weakness of the empire had been demonstrated by "the retreat of the ten thousand" and Agesilaus began offensive operations. But Persia rendered his position untenable by combining Argos, Corinth, Athens and Thebes against him. The same power that had made Sparta overthrow it. A Persian fleet, commanded by the Athenian Conon, defeated the Spartan fleet, and Agesilaus was obliged to cross into Europe to defend Sparta against its enemies. Although victorious at Coronea, Sparta was able to save itself only by an alliance with Persia. The two states divided the Aegean world between them, Persia gaining the coast of Asia Minor and the islands, while Sparta was allowed to dominate the Balkan peninsula. The peace of Antalcidas made Persia the autocrat of the eastern Mediterranean.

For eight years after the peace of Antalcidas (387) Sparta maintained her brutal rule over the states of the Balkan peninsula before Thebes freed itself; another eight years passed before the Spartan power was broken on the field of Leuktra (371). The second attempt to unify the Greek world politically had failed.

The rôle now fell naturally to Thebes, the conqueror of Sparta, the head of the Boeotian confederacy and the third Greek state in importance in the Aegean. From the battle of Leuktra to the battle of Mantinea (361), when Thebes lost the leadership as suddenly as it had gained it, Epaminondas was the central figure in Greek international affairs. To undermine the power of Sparta was the chief end of his policy. The Peloponnesus was invaded, Messenia was liberated and Megalopolis was founded in Arcadia. The domination of Sparta was broken; even the city seemed in danger. The success of the Boeotians naturally led Athens to ally itself with Sparta; Persia continued to support Sparta. Despairing of being able to make head against such a combination, Epaminondas dispatched Pelopidas to the Persian court and succeeded in detaching Persia

from the alliance. In retaliation and for the purpose of diverting the attention of Persia from the Aegean, Sparta sent aid to the revolting Egyptians. Although the operations of Thebes covered the whole of the Balkan peninsula from Macedonia to Thrace, nothing permanent was accomplished; not even the Boeotian league was given an effective organization that might serve as a basis for expansion, and when Epaminondas fell on the field of Mantinea, the dream of Greek unity under Theban leadership came to an end.

The outlook for the political unification of the Greek peoples seemed hopeless. Athens, Sparta and Thebes had been able to extend their domination temporarily over a large number of Greek states, but could neither hold what they had gained nor evolve institutions that might serve as a basis for a larger political unity. Unity to the Greek states meant surrender of their sovereignty, submission to an overlord. To escape this, a balance of power must be maintained. As a result of this situation, beginning with the last phase of the Peloponnesian wars, the relations between Persian and Greek states had undergone a marked change; the two groups became interdependent. The permanence of the empire in the west came to rest upon Greek armies and navies and Persia ceased to be the barbarian foe with whom no friendly relations could be maintained. The conquest of Alexander and the Greek colonization of the east were preceded by an invasion of the empire by Greek soldiers in the guise of mercenaries. Everywhere they were found, on land and sea, now fighting to maintain the empire, now to undermine it.

On the northern border of this complex Greek-Oriental society, a state now came into view (359) which was destined to change the entire political character of the Mediterranean world, to unite a large number of the Greek states politically and find a solution for the Persian problem. Macedon was a state of a new character in the Aegean. It was not a city state, but a hereditary territorial monarchy. There was nothing mysterious about the conquest of the states of the Balkan peninsula by Philip of Macedon. In the first place, he was a political and military genius, and found among the nobility of Macedon a group of generals such as the world has seldom seen. The Macedonians supplied him with the raw material of a standing army, and his acquaintance with the work of Pelopidas, and his own genius enabled him to organize this material into an effective fighting force. The seizure of the mines in Thrace supplied him with "the sinews of war." His diplomacy and military tactics were unhampered by popular assemblies or by the necessity of holding together a group of allied and jealous states. In the second place, he found before him a divided world of petty states, no one of which was strong enough to resist him for any length of time, and some of them ready to ally themselves with him against the others. The outcome of the battle of Chaeronea might have been foreseen. At last the Greeks had found a master, but he posed as a Greek, called a gathering of the Greek states at Corinth

and prepared for an attack upon the Persian empire and the freeing of the Greek states of Asia Minor. The work begun by Agesilaus was to be renewed under more favorable circumstances. Operations had already begun across the Aegean when the death of Philip seemingly brought the undertaking to an abrupt end.

But the state created by Philip proved to be no colossus with feet of sand. He left behind him a remarkable son, surrounded by a brilliant group of generals and statesmen, and the task he had begun was carried to completion in one of the few great campaigns of the world's history. The Persian king was defeated and dethroned, and the king of Macedon, overlord of the Greek states of the Aegean, became the ruler of an oriental empire. The task the Persian emperors had attempted in vain—the creation of a Greek-Oriental empire—had been accomplished by Alexander. The new empire did not, however, include the Greek states to the west of the Adriatic. No Greek state east of the Adriatic was ever able to accomplish in Sicily and in Italy what Rome accomplished in the Aegean. Until the Roman conquest the Greek world consisted of eastern and western halves, facing the one to the east and the other to the west, and only at intervals brought into vital international relations.

That the Greek-Macedonian-Oriental empire created by Alexander could have been held together for any length of time, even by him, is highly improbable. The conflict between the Macedonian and Persian ideas of kingship had begun to manifest itself in his lifetime, and would not have lessened with time. After his death, his generals struggled in vain to hold the empire together; after a long period of civil war, external unity gave place once more to a complex international life. But the world of the eastern Mediterranean after the fall of the empire did not resemble the world before the creation of the empire. The Persian empire, stretching from the Aegean to the Indus, had given place to a group of monarchies ruled by Macedonian kings. The barriers between Greek and barbarians had been swept away. Greek cities had been built throughout the east and became the centers of commercial life and Greek culture. The Greek language became the language of courts, of cities, of business and of the literary world. Again, the bounds of the Greek world had been widened and the problem of political unity rendered more difficult. The world as a whole was the gainer. The west gave to the east and took what it had of culture in return, a cosmopolitan spirit was developed that created a certain spiritual unity in the Greek-Oriental world. This was especially true of the region bounding the eastern Mediterranean, where the Greek population was the most numerous. In this larger Greek world, the centers of industrial and intellectual activity were not found in the Aegean; they were naturally located in the capitals of the great kingdoms, in Alexandria, Antioch and Pergamum. In such a world organization, there was no place for the petty city states. If they survived at all, it must be as the result of con-



federation. And confederation was the characteristic feature of the last phase of the independent Greek life of the Aegean. The movement, however, came too late and could hardly hope to succeed. The year in which the Achaean league was revived (280) marked the advent of Rome in Greek affairs. In that year the king of Epirus, on his way to Sicily, hoping to form a Greek kingdom in the west, defeated the Romans—then encroaching on Greek territory—at Heraclea. The victory was repeated the following year at Asculum, but on his return from Sicily, where success had been followed by ultimate failure, Pyrrhus suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Romans at Beneventum (275). This battle marked the beginning of a movement which was to end with the incorporation of the entire Greek empire in a single political whole.

The task was a long one. Begun in 275, it was not completed until 31 B.C. with the end of Egyptian independence. For nearly two centuries and a half the Roman advance went on, not always steadily, frequently with marked resemblance to the incoming tide. The absorption of the Greek states of southern Italy followed the defeat of Pyrrhus; the victory over Carthage was also a victory over the Greek states of Sicily. At last Rome had accomplished in the west what no Carthaginian or Greek had been able to accomplish, it had given political unity to the Greek states of southern Italy and Sicily. Not until seventy-five years after the defeat of Pyrrhus did Rome declare war on Macedon, acting as the protector of the Greek states; not until another half century had passed were Macedon and the Greek states made parts of the Roman dominion. A few years later the province of Asia, in western Asia Minor, was formed, but nearly three-quarters of a century had gone before the remnants of the empire of Antiochus became parts of Rome's possessions, and a

full century had passed since the incorporation of the states of the Balkan peninsula, before the last step was taken in Egypt. And when that step was taken not an independent Greek state remained in the Mediterranean. What Persia and Athens, Sparta, Thebes and Macedon had striven in vain to accomplish, Rome had finally made a reality. Long united in a common intellectual and spiritual inheritance, the Greek peoples were at last parts of the same great political organization, were citizens, in later years, of the Roman empire. Through Rome the Greeks received a common law and common government administration, a common language of government and a common religion. Under Roman rule and the blessing of a world peace (*Pax Romana*), the realization of the unity of social life, of human brotherhood struck deep roots in the consciousness of the Mediterranean peoples. The Roman empire was an object lesson of the possibility of banishing war from the midst of civilized society. It was a world at peace.

With the conquest of the Mediterranean peoples by Rome a long period of European history came to an end. Its significance may be realized when we recall that since the fall of the Roman empire, never has a society existed which could with the same reason be called a world society. If the end of social organization is world peace, a society organized on a basis of reason and justice, a society offering the most favorable conditions for individual development, it must be clear that in these ten thousand years, from the appearance of the man of the stone age until the establishment of the Roman empire, we have a period possessing logical unity, a concept which enables us to organize in a causally connected whole a large part of the facts relating to the social evolution of the Greek peoples.

## Bibliography of Transportation\*

BY D. C. KNOWLTON, CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, N. J.

In the following list an effort has been made to keep in mind primarily the needs of the secondary teacher and student. It is obvious that any book on the railroad written in the early nineties or before, however excellent in its day, possesses little value for the student of the transportation systems of the present. Although these writers often enunciated clearly the great principles underlying this economic problem, their data can no longer be trusted and their perspective is very much distorted. Not only have we made great progress in the recognition of the principles involved, but many of their suggestions, so strange to the ears of the public twenty years ago, have become matters of common procedure and practice and now appear in an entirely different light. Books like C. F. Adams' *Railroads and Railroad Questions* (1878), Larabee's *Railway Question* (1893), and Stickney's *Railway Problem* (1891) are of little value for the secondary stu-

dent or teacher. We are interested in these writers merely as pioneers in the field—men who blazed a path that others were to follow with varying success.

As this list is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather selective in character, it may so happen that a useful book has been overlooked. Those books which are of special interest and may be commended to students for outside reading have been indicated with an asterisk. In some cases an effort has been made in a few words to throw some light on the contents of the volume. The literature which has to do with the railroads is much more voluminous than that which covers any other phase of the problem.

No effort has been made to list the pamphlet literature or the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission or of the various state and municipal commissions or the state and government publications. It is to be regretted that no convenient bibliography of the literature has been prepared with the few exceptions noted below.

\*Prepared for The History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland.

## Bibliographies.

- Cleveland, F. A., and Powell, F. W.—See below.
- Griffin, A. P. C.—Select list of references on federal control of commerce and corporations and select list of references on government ownership of railroads. Library of Congress, 1903.
- Griffin, A. P. C.—List of books (with references to periodicals) relating to railroads in their relation to the government and the public. Washington, 1904.
- Griffin, A. P. C.—List of works relating to deep waterways from the great lakes to the Atlantic ocean with some other related works, etc. Washington, 1908.
- Griffin, A. P. C.—Select list of books on railroads in foreign countries, government regulations, etc. Washington, 1905.
- Hart, A. B., editor.—American nation: a history. National Development 1877-1885, by E. E. Sparks. Contains a bibliography covering the interoceanic canal (pp. 357-358), and the railway problem (p. 361).
- Hart, A. B., editor.—American nation: a history. National Problems, 1885-1897, by D. R. Dewey. Contains a bibliography covering the railroads (pp. 338-340).
- Johnson, E. R.—Ocean and inland transportation. A selected list of references follows each chapter.
- Johnson, E. R.—American railway transportation. Lists of books appended to each chapter.
- Moulton, H. G.—See below.
- †Railway Economics: a collective catalogue of books in fourteen American libraries. Prepared by the Bureau of Railway Economics, L. G. McPherson, Director, Washington, D. C.

## General.

- \*Dunn, S. O.—American transportation question. New York, 1912. Appleton. The author is the editor of the *Railway Age Gazette*.
- \*Johnson, E. R.—Elements of Transportation: a discussion of steam railroad, electric railway, and ocean and inland water transportation. New York, 1909. Appleton. Best concise treatment of whole problem and an admirable text-book.
- \*McPherson, L. G.—Transportation in Europe. New York, 1910. Holt. Author a lecturer in Johns Hopkins. A book in convenient compass.
- \*Moore, J. R. H.—Industrial history of the American people. New York, 1913. Macmillan. Chapter xiii is on Transportation in the Nineteenth Century.
- \*Moulton, H. G.—Waterways versus railways. Boston and New York, 1912. Houghton. Author an instructor in University of Chicago; a prize essay in the series to which Merritt's book belongs. (q. v.) A bibliography appended; no comments on the titles mentioned.
- Willson, Beckles.—Story of rapid transit. New York, 1903. Appleton. Popular treatise. Chapters on the beginnings of rapid transit, the telegraph, aerial navigation, bicycle, motor carriages, etc. A book which might interest the average boy, but apparently not the work of a scholar.

## THE RAILROAD.

## (a) General.

- \*Cooley, T. M., Clarke, T. M., et al.—American Railway; its construction, development, management and appliances. New York, 1889. Scribner's. Made up of articles on the building of the railway, railway management, freight-car service, etc., by various contributors, fully illustrated and intended for popular consumption. Naturally somewhat out of date, but good in its day, as the writers include

†Note.—The Bureau of Railway Economics has in preparation a complete bibliography of transportation.

the editor of the *Railroad Gazette*, vice-president of the Pullman Company, president of the Union Pacific, etc.

Hadley, A. T.—Railroad transportation: its history and its laws. New York and London, 1895. Putnam's. Superseded by Raper. (q. v.)

\*Hungerford, Edward. The Modern Railroad. Boston, 1911.

\*Johnson, E. R. American Railway Transportation. New York, 1908. Appleton. An excellent account, historical and practical, by a recognized authority.

\*McPherson, L. G.—Working of the Railroads. New York, 1907. Holt. Chapters on construction and operation, traffic, accounting, financial and executive administration, relations to the public and the state.

\*Pratt, Edwin A.—American Railways. London and New York, 1903. Macmillan. Series of articles originally in "The Times" amplified and expanded. Writer an observer of railway conditions as traveller. His purpose is to inform the English public of American conditions. Makes frequent comparisons between English and American systems. Valuable chapter on accidents. Preliminary survey of growth of railway in America. Interesting as an effort to show how far the development of the railway was influenced by local conditions.

Rankin, G. A.—American Transportation System: a criticism of the past and present and a plan for the future. (Questions of the day.) New York, 1909. Putnam's.

\*Raper, C. L.—Railway transportation. New York, 1912. Putnam's. Based with the author's permission on Hadley's book, the best known and most valuable contribution to the literature in its day. The material is arranged by countries and has been brought up to date.

Ripley, W. Z.—Railway Problems. New York, 1907. Ginn & Co. Selections and Documents to emphasize the economic aspects of the question.

Sterne, Simon. Railways in the United States, their history, their relation to the state, and an analysis of the legislation in regard to their control, with supplementary notes continuing the record to 1911. The volume is based on three papers of Mr. Sterne (1839-1901), a celebrated lawyer and authority on railroad questions.

†Thompson, Slason, editor.—The railway library, 1909. An annual compilation of addresses, excerpts from books, etc., covering the railroad problem in all its phases. Published by the Bureau of Railway News and Statistics, Chicago, 1910.

## (b) History.

Adams, C. F.—Chapters of Erie. Boston, 1869.

Talbot, F. A.—The Making of a Great Canadian Railway: the story of the search for and discovery of the route, and the construction of the nearly completed Grand Trunk Pacific Railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific with some account of the hardships and stirring adventures of its constructors in unexplored country. Toronto, 1912. Musson Book Co. Illustrations from photographs.

Wilson, W. B.—History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company with plan of organization, portraits of officials and biographical sketches. Illustrated, 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1899. H. T. Coates & Co.

## (c) Rates and Rate Making.

Johnson, E. R., and Huebner, G. G.—Railroad Traffic and Rates. 2 vols. New York, 1911. Appleton. Vol. I, Freight Service. Vol. II, Passenger, Express and Mail Services. Filled with maps, forms and charts. The result of five years' labor. Chapters read by experts.

†Note.—Distributed gratis to schools and libraries.

McPherson, L. G.—*Railroad Freight Rates in Relation to the Industry and Commerce of the United States*. New York, 1909. Holt.

\*Noyes, Walter C.—*American Railroad Rates*. Boston, 1905. Little, Brown & Co. An excellent presentation of the rate question. The author a lawyer by profession, and also president of a railroad.

\*Parsons, Frank.—*Heart of the railroad problem: the history of railway discrimination in the United States, the chief efforts at control and the remedies proposed, with hints from other countries*. Boston, 1906. Little, Brown & Co.

Strombeck, J. F.—*Freight Classification: a study of underlying principles*. Boston and New York, 1912. Houghton. Prize essay in the series of Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize Essays.

#### (d) Government control and ownership.

Barnes, H. C.—*Interstate Transportation: a treatise on the federal regulation of interstate transportation and common carriers including jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission revised to date, containing the Mann-Elkins Bill of June 18, 1910*. 2 vols. Indianapolis, 1910. Bobbs-Merrill. Comprehensive; volumes large; exhaustive as to the law and the cases arising under it.

Davies, A. Emil.—*Nationalization of Railways*. London, 1908. A. and Charles Black. Pamphlet. A criticism of privately owned and operated railroads with special application to the English situation.

Dixon, F. H.—*State railroad control with a history of its development in Iowa*. (Library of Economics and Politics.) New York & Boston, 1896. Crowell & Co. The author an assistant in the University of Michigan.

Haines, H. S.—*Problems in railway regulation*. New York, 1911. Macmillan.

Haines, H. S.—*Restrictive railway legislation*. New York, 1905. Macmillan.

Merritt, A. N.—*Federal regulation of railway rates*. Boston & New York, 1907. Houghton. A prize essay: awarded by a committee of college professors. Prize sustained by Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago.

Meyer, H. R.—*Government regulation of railway rates; a study of the experience of the United States, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Australia*. New York, 1905. Macmillan. The author a professor in the University of Chicago. Part II devoted to the United States.

\*Meyer, B. H.—*Railway legislation in the United States*. (Citizen's Library of Economics.) New York, 1903. Macmillan. The author a professor in the University of Wisconsin.

Van Wagener, A.—*Government ownership of railways considered as the next great step in American progress*. New York and London, 1910. Putnam's.

\*Vrooman, C. S.—*American railway problems in the light of European experience, or government regulation vs. government operation of railways*. Oxford University Press, 1910.

#### (e) Special Problems and Phases of the Railroad Question.

\*Armour, J. O.—*The Packers, the private car lines, and the people*. Illustrated. Philadelphia, 1906. Originally a series of articles in the "Saturday Evening Post." A brief for the packers.

Cleveland, F. A., and Powell, F. W.—*Railroad promotion and capitalization in the United States*. New York, 1909. Longmans, Green & Co. Elaborate bibliography on railroad promotion. Summary of transportation development prior to the beginning of the railroad.

Daggett, Stuart.—*Railroad reorganization*. (Harvard Economic Studies.) Boston and New York, 1908. Houghton. Separate chapters devoted to various railroads.

Morris, Ray.—*Railroad administration*. New York, 1910. Appleton. The author, the Managing Editor, *Railway Age Gazette*, 1903-1910. Excellent tables showing relation of officers, etc.

\*Spearman, Frank H.—*Strategy of great railroads*. New York, 1904. Scribner's. A history of the efforts to consolidate, with emphasis upon the human side.

†Thompson, Slason.—*Cost, capitalization, and estimated value of American railways: an analysis of current fallacies*. 3d Edition. Chicago, 1908. Bureau of Railway News.

†Thompson, Slason, editor.—*Railway statistics of the United States of America for the year . . . compared with the official reports . . . and recent statistics of foreign railways*. Pamphlet. Chicago. Published by Bureau of Railway News.

### TRANSPORTATION BY WATER.

#### A. General.

\*Johnson, E. R.—*Ocean and inland water transportation*. New York and London, 1911. Appleton.

#### B. Ocean.

Bates, W. W.—*American Navigation: the political history of its rise and ruin, and the proper means for its encouragement*. Boston and New York, 1902. Houghton. Author, Ex-Commissioner of Navigation, etc.

Fry, Henry.—*History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation with some account of early ships and ship owners*. New York, 1896. Scribner's. Author present at launching of "Great Western" in 1837. Devotes chapters to each of the well-known lines.

Hall, Henry.—*American Navigation*.

Hall, Henry.—*Ship building industry of the United States*.

\*Marvin, W. L.—*The American merchant marine; its history and romance from 1620 to 1902*. New York, 1902. Scribner's.

Meeker, R.—*History of shipping subsidies*. New York, 1905. Publications of American Economic Association. Contains a bibliography.

\*Smith, J. R.—*The ocean carrier: a history and analysis of the service and a discussion of the rates of ocean transportation*. New York, 1908. Putnam's. Author, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

Smith, J. R.—*Organization of ocean commerce*. Publications of University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1905.

\*Soley, J. R.—*The maritime industries of the United States*. Essay a part of Volume I of the *United States of America*, by N. S. Shaler, 1894.

\*Spears, J. R.—*Story of the American Merchant Marine*. New York, 1910. Macmillan. Popular account.

#### C. Panama Canal.

\*Barrett, John.—*Panama Canal: What it is and what it means*. Washington, 1913. (Pan-American Union.)

Forbes-Lindsay, C. H. A.—*Panama and the canal to-day; an historical account of the canal project from the earliest times, with special reference to the enterprises of the French Co., and the United States etc*. Boston, 1910. L. C. Page & Co.

†Note.—Distributed gratis to schools and libraries.



**D. Inland Waterways.**

American Academy of Political and Social Science. Proceedings, vol. xxi. January, 1908. American Waterways. Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association. Proceedings. 5th (1912).

Dore, E. P.—History of our lake commerce. Buffalo Historical Society.

Mills, J. C.—Our inland seas, their shipping and commerce for the three centuries. Chicago, 1910. A. C. McClurg. Popular treatise. Illustrated.

(Continued from page 223.)

Economics should treat the classic divisions of the science lucidly and briefly; and allow considerable time for concrete questions as Labor Unions, Immigration, Monopolies, Banks and Credit and Public Utilities, etc., so that the boy or girl entering the business world may have a knowledge of economic forces sufficient at least for self-protection.

I have ventured to include a half-year of History of the Pacific Northwest. The inhabitants of old Oregon territory have in the history of that territory a mine of fabulous wealth, and the time is ripe to realize on that store. We feel that this is to be the seat of a great empire and of a civilization of surpassing excellence. It behooves us then to conserve our history and by its study in the schools to instill in the young manhood and young womanhood of the Northwest, reverence for the sacrifice and achievement so conspicuous in the discovery, conquest and settlement of this vast region.

I have endeavored to set forth as lucidly as I could a statement of a reorganization of courses in history and political science. Whether this course finds favor or no, I do not care, if we retain a clear vision of correct human values. The age is calling for men and for women. In all walks and professions the call is not alone for technical skill but with even greater insistence for genuine manhood and womanhood. The youth of to-day is precipitated into a social complex wherein his powers of adaptability, his sense of social values, his capacity for just and generous social conduct, his judgment in vexing civic and political questions are put to the test. It is in the study of history and government in schools that the youth traces the principles of human contact, that he is brought to realize his legacy from the past and his responsibility for the future; and thus secures his completest preparation for living a virile, valiant life. The history course that will function the largest in its contribution to human values is the one to be adopted regardless of its scope or content. The proposed course is devised as a means to that end and in that light must receive its final appraisal.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO

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(Signed) ALBERT E. McKINLEY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1913.

WINFIELD S. H. KNOPF,  
Notary Public.

## Reports Historical Field

WALTER H. CUSHING, EDITOR

### Notes.

Miss Mabelle L. Moses will be an instructor in Wellesley College this year.

Professor David R. Moore, of Lawrence College, has been chosen Professor of European History in Oberlin College, O.

Dr. Charles A. Tuttle, formerly of Wabash College, has gone to Wesleyan University as professor of economics and social science.

Dr. Warren Ortman Ault will be instructor in history in Boston University during the coming year. He is a graduate of Baker University, Kansas, and was Rhodes scholar from that State. Last year he received his doctor's degree from Yale University.

A meeting was held September 28th and 29th in Marburg, Germany, to form an organization of German teachers of history. Although the German historians have had their association for some years past, no effort has been made hitherto to organize the teachers of history. Among the subjects for discussion at this meeting were the "Training of the History Teacher," "Training for Citizenship," and the "Use of Illustration in the Recitation." The movement for a closer union of the teachers of the empire was launched through the editorial board of the new magazine "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart."

The quarterly number of "Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" contains interesting articles on the coordination of the teaching of German and history, the aim and problem of the teaching of civics (the conclusion of a series on this subject), and the use of source readings in connection with the study of the Middle Ages. There is also a more general article on the work of the Koeniglich Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rome and the advantage of study there for the teacher of history. The magazine contains the usual departments devoted to recent literature and general news of meetings, etc. A very valuable series of articles of a bibliographical nature has been running in the magazine covering different fields of history. The most recent number covers general European history from 1789 to 1900. The titles included, however, are confined to works in German.

Miss Ethel A. Jacobs, formerly of the New Rochelle, N. Y., High School, has been appointed teacher of history in the new South Side High School, Newark, N. J.

Professor Henry E. Bourne has prepared for Underwood & Underwood a list of stereographs illustrating the various fields of history. After a brief introduction as to the value of this material, the editor arranges the stereographs according to the different fields of history, ancient, mediæval and modern, English and American. A list of notable events is given in connection with each period, with one or more stereographs to illustrate the same. Emphasis is placed particularly upon the political history.

### DENVER NOTES.

Miss Margaret Carman, of the North Side High School, Denver, spent the summer and fall in Europe.

Miss Jean Ingersoll, of Denver, who received a leave of absence last January, has been studying Latin and history at Columbia University.

Miss E. E. Maxwell, of the North Side High School, Denver, spent the summer at the University of California.

Mr. W. P. Rhodes returns this fall to the Manual Training High School in Denver.

Mr. L. F. Nestor will teach in the North Side High School this year.

Miss Mary Rin goes to the East Side High School.

The State Teachers' Association will hold its fall meeting in Pueblo during Thanksgiving week.

### THE NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATION.

The Association will hold its annual fall meeting in Boston on Saturday, October 18th, at 10 o'clock a.m.

The subject of the meeting will be "Commercial and Industrial History." The principal paper will be by Professor Clive Day, of Yale University. Dr. Melvin T. Copeland, of Harvard University; Mr. Egbert E. MacNary, principal of the Vocational School, Springfield, Mass., and others will discuss the subject.

Miss Mary L. Sawyer, of the Springfield Technical High School, will give a preliminary report of a committee on a syllabus in "Industrial History."

The speakers at the luncheon will be Hon. George W. Anderson, of the Massachusetts Public Service Commission, and President M. L. Burton, of Smith College.

The complete program will be mailed about October 8.

### SOCIAL STUDIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

In the report of Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the committee (of the National Education Association) on "Social Studies in Secondary Schools" several radical changes are recommended. "The old civics, almost exclusively a study of government machinery, must give way to the new civics, a study of all manner of social efforts to improve mankind. It is not so important that the pupil know how the President is elected as that he shall understand the duties of the health officer in his community." . . . "History, too, must answer the test of good citizenship. . . . Recent history is more important than that of ancient times; the history of our own country than that of foreign lands; the record of our own institutions and activities than that of strangers; the labors and plans of the multitudes than the pleasures and dreams of the few."

The committee proposes to outline five units of social studies:

1. Community Civics and Survey of Vocations.
2. European History to 1600 to 1700 (including English and Colonial American History).
3. European History since 1600 or 1700 (including contemporary civilization).
4. United States History since 1760 (including current events).
5. Economics and Civic Theory and Practice.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MARY W. WILLIAMS, M.A., EDITOR.

"Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique" for April contains the first part of a serial article by Baron de Contenson, upon the "American Order of the Cincinnati in France," the order founded in May, 1783, by the French and American officers in the Revolutionary army for the purpose of perpetuating the friendships formed during the war. Letters written upon the subject by Washington, La Fayette, De Grasse and others appear in the article.

The first instalment of a long paper on the Polish Revolution of 1863 by A. Bruce Boswell appears in the "Russian Review" for May.

Under the title "The Tragedy of Henry Quatre," C. H. Powell gives a detailed account of the last days and death of Henry IV of France ("Contemporary Review," August).

The place of the "Sussex man," according to Frederick Arthur Hodge ("North American Review," August) is, in order of age, next above that of Dubois's *Pithecanthropus erectus*. It represents the oldest European type yet found.

"Hearst's Magazine" for August contains the first of a valuable series of articles entitled "Memories of My Warrior Husband 'Stonewall' Jackson, C.S.A.," by Mary A. Jackson. The first article is illustrated by several photographs of General Jackson.

"The Romantic Founding of Washington," by Thomas Nelson Page, in "Scribner's" for September, contains many interesting and little-known facts regarding the circumstances which brought about the establishment of a federal capital city.

In "The Nineteenth Century and After" for August is printed the diary of an Englishman, R. H. Lawrence, written during his visit to St. Petersburg in 1806. The diary gives a description and characterization of the reigning emperor, Alexander, and many interesting touches describing Russian life a century ago.

The first two numbers of "Historisches Jahrbuch" for 1913 contain a paper by Alois Kroesz on "Evidence Regarding the Jesuits at the Beginning of the Catholic General Reformation in Bohemia, in the seventeenth century."

"Harper's Magazine" for August contains a most interesting account of the battle of Lake Erie, taken from Benson J. Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812." The account is illustrated by several drawings by W. J. Aylward.

Frederico Hermanin in "Pictures from the Lives of the People of Mediaeval Italy" ("Deutsche Rundschau," August) calls attention to various interesting but little-used sources of information which throw light upon the much-neglected subject of social history in Italy, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

"The Road to Bogotá," by Arthur Ruhl ("Everybody's Magazine," September), is an unusually interesting account of the varied scenes viewed by the author on a boat trip up the Magdalena River to Colombia's capital, nine thousand feet above sea level. The article is illustrated from photographs by the author.

"Blackwood's Magazine" for August contains a description of Brazil and a discussion of her probable future, by Cyril Campbell. The writer considers the faults in the government of the republic merely the result of immaturity and inexperience. He feels that in the brief period of her existence the nation has achieved wonders, and prophesies a rosy future for her.

#### LIST OF BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM JULY 26 TO AUGUST 30, 1913.

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

##### American History.

- Font, Pedro. San Francisco Bay and California in 1776; three maps with outline sketches, reproduced in facsimile from the original MS. of Pedro Font. Boston: Merrymount Press. 3+7 pp. \$6.00.
- Jocknick, Sidney. Early days on the western slope of Colorado. (1870-1883.) Denver, Col.: Carson Harper Co. 384 pp. \$2.00.
- Lauber, Almon W. Indian slavery in Colonial times within the present limits of the United States. New York: Longmans. 352 pp. (19 p. bibl.). \$3.00.
- McMaster, John Bach. A history of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War. In 8 vols. Vol. 8, 1850-1861. New York: Appleton. 556 pp. \$2.50 net.
- Masher, Irwin F. The making of Illinois. Chicago: Flanagan. 278 pp. 50c.
- Morton, Edward P. Lake Erie and the story of Commodore Perry. Chicago: Ainsworth & Co. 104 pp. 75c.

- Norton, Henry K. The story of California from the earliest days to the present. Chicago: McClurg. 379 pp. \$1.50 net.
- Richardson, Hester D. Sidelights on Maryland history. 2 vols. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co. \$5.00.
- Russell, John H. The free negro in Virginia, 1619-1865. Baltimore: J. H. Univ. Press. 194 pp. \$1.00.
- Ryan, D. J. Civil war literature of Ohio; a bibliography, etc. Cincinnati, O. Stewart & Kidd. 518 pp. \$6.00 net.
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Yale University Library. Catalogue of early printed books. New Haven: Yale Univ. \$1.50 net.

#### Biography.

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Schurz, Carl. Speeches, correspondence, and political papers. 6 vols. New York: Putnam. \$12.00 net.

Woodburn, Jas. A. The life of Thaddeus Stevens. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 620 pp. \$2.50 net.

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Oppenheim, Lassa F. L. The Panama Canal conflict between Great Britain and the United States . . .; a study. New York: Putnam. 57 pp. 75c. net.

Ray, P. Orman. An introduction to political parties and practical politics. New York: Scribner. 493 pp. \$1.50 net.

## Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROF. WAYLAND J. CHASE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

McLAUGHLIN, ANDREW C. History of the American Nation. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1913. Pp. xviii+608. \$1.40.

The new edition of McLaughlin's American History continues the narrative to 1911. The method of treatment in the new material is different from that of the original text. Instead of a continuous narrative, nominally by administrations but practically by years, the story of American history is treated under two heads. The first of these is the chronological account of the main events or political changes from 1899 to 1911 (pages 537-544, 553-556). Unfortunately, this narrative is divided, the events of President Taft's administration not being considered until the close of the second chapter. Although very much condensed, especially for the "second term" of President Roosevelt, the treatment of the new material is much better for the use of high school students than that of the earlier narrative.

A new chapter on "Recent Events—Social and Industrial Problems" gives a very clear, concise and satisfactory treatment of four problems: conservation, railways, industry and labor, and immigration and city congestion. The author seeks briefly to explain these problems and to show difficulties that must be overcome before they can be solved. Charts as well as statistics have been revised to 1910.

R. L. ASHLEY, Pasadena High School.

MYERS, PHILIP VAN NESS. History as Past Ethics. Boston: Ginn & Co. [1913.] Pp. xii+387. \$1.50.

The sub-title of this book, "An Introduction to the History of Morals," is altogether preferable to the title, which is as unfortunate in its implications as it is catchy and pleonastic. In the preface the author says: "This work completes the series of historical text-books which I began more than thirty years ago." If this means that the author expects to write no more books, we may, regretfully, accept

it; if, as seems probable from what follows, it is intended to convey the idea that a history of morals is the logical complement to a series of school histories, we must reject it, and for reasons obvious to most intelligent teachers of history.

Somewhat over two-thirds of the volume are given over to the ethics of the Orient and of European antiquity. The last four chapters (pp. 300-387) deal with the "Moral Life of the Age of Chivalry," "Renaissance Ethics," "The Ethics of the Protestant Reformation," and "The Moral Evolution Since the Incoming of Democracy." The book displays the lucidity and charm of language which mark the other writings of the author, and so far as the reviewer is competent to judge, the separate topics are in general well handled. Exception must surely be taken to the allocation of space, and especially to the treatment of Renaissance morals, which shows that the author is still contentedly unconscious of the unhistorical nature of that pernicious concept, the "Renaissance." In the last chapter the author exhibits the widest hospitality toward the movements of the present. Socialism, "in its real essence and purified form," is "the spirit of primitive Christianity at work in the industrial domain" (pp. 352-3), and Psychological Research is of "immeasurable import" (pp. 359-60). The book ends with a plea for international peace.

The book should have been reviewed by a special student of the history of morals, and the circumstance that a general worker in history has been called upon to criticize it must be explained by the unethical title which it bears.

GEORGE C. SELLERY, University of Wisconsin.

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER. A Short History of the United States. New York: The Macmillan Co. [1913.] Pp. xiv+885. \$2.00.

Many as there are of single volume histories of the United States, this seems to the reviewer to be justified, because

it is more comprehensive than other one-volume accounts that are equally scholarly, and is more scholarly and authoritative than those whose bulk is equally great. There is an element of superiority in its distribution of emphasis, also. To the acts of political parties and party leaders, and thus to the development of political institutions, the most space is devoted; yet now and then among the forty chapters is one devoted to summarizing clearly the habits and social progress of the people and their changing economic conditions.

The narrative begins with a description of the physical features and an account of the primitive inhabitants of the country. In the treatment of the colonial period, there is due attention to both aspects of colonial history—the relation of the colonies to the general British scheme of imperial government and the beginnings of the development of an American people and nation. The military side of our history has due emphasis, a chapter each being devoted to the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the War with Spain, and to the Civil War four chapters are given. That element of emphasis which is most novel and most needed is the stress laid on the period since 1865. This is brought down to cover the election of President Wilson, and to it are devoted 258 pages or 13 chapters. These constitute the best treatment of this whole period that has yet appeared. The characterization of men and measures is generally just and the attitude to policies sane, and throughout the whole volume accuracy prevails. Many full page and text-maps serve to illuminate the narrative, and at the end of each chapter there are generous bibliographies classified by subjects. The book is designed to serve several purposes, a prominent one being that of college text-book, and to this it seems well adapted. For the general reader it has great value. In style it is clear and succinct, and the reader's interest is particularly well sustained. One wonders at the recurring use of the expressions *that far* and *that long for so far*, etc., but lapses of this sort are not characteristic of it. It is the best single-volume work for high school libraries that has yet appeared, covering the whole field of American history, and is thus a very valuable addition to the teacher's tools.

KEATINGE, M. W., and FRAZER, N. L. *A History of England for Schools, with documents, problems and exercises.* London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. xii+713. 5s.

This is a text-book intended primarily for secondary schools. It gives only a meager amount of historical narrative and a collection of brief selections from contemporary records. In the preface, the authors indicate that the teacher is expected to supplement the narrative to suit the needs of his classes and to use additional source-material. They also suggest that several copies of the volumes of "English History Illustrated from Original Sources" be kept in the class-room for the pupils to consult. In Part I, on the period prior to 1603, the historical narrative contains 134 pages, while the selections from documents cover 225 pages; in Part II, on the period from 1603 to 1889, there are 163 pages of narrative and 151 pages of documents. The narrative is well proportioned and lucid, notwithstanding the necessary condensation, and the documents from which selections are made cover a wide range. The book contains ground plans of castles and abbeys; plans of campaigns, of battlefields, of cities; many maps in black and white, but no colored maps and no illustrations.

The problems and exercises, three hundred and forty in all, given at the end of the book indicate various ways of inducing the pupils to take the initiative and to put forth individual effort in the solution of problems. They

call for abstracts, detailed analyses, comparisons, summaries, criticism, the power to picture a scene or situation, the power to construct a conversation or a narrative from known data, and the power to recognize the past in the present. They are sufficiently varied in degree of difficulty to stimulate and encourage the timid pupil, or to serve as a challenge to the capable one; and to suggest caution, the necessity of getting at all the evidence, to pupils who are inclined to be impulsive in making judgments, or over-confident as to the value of their own conclusions. The following samples give a good idea of their character. "To his contemporaries, the Black Prince was the flower of chivalry. How far is his conduct at Limoges consistent with the character of the perfect knight as described by Chaucer? What would John Ball have thought of Langland's description of a laborer? Contrast the character of More, Wolsey and Henry VIII. How far would it be true to say that the religious character of the Puritans checked their feelings of humanity? Make a brief abstract of the Declaration of Independence. How far were the statements in it justified? How do the wages, the length of the working day, and the ages of the workers in the second half of the eighteenth century compare with those customary at present? Compare the speeches of Burke and Fox against Mr. Hastings, June 1, 1786. Which seems to you (1) to exaggerate most; (2) to show the greater ignorance of Eastern affairs and the nature of Orientals?"

All earnest teachers will welcome this attempt to furnish the necessary apparatus to induce the student to become an investigator and producer instead of a mere passive recipient of ready-made views.

SARAH A. DYNES, State Normal School, Trenton, N. J.

WOODBURN, JAMES ALBERT. *The Life of Thaddeus Stevens: A Study in American Political History, especially in the period of the Civil War and reconstruction.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. [1913.] Pp. 620. \$2.50.

This is a study of the political views of Thaddeus Stevens. It is full and explicit in discussing his attitude upon Anti-Masonry, free schools, slavery, secession, reconstruction, and finance. It is singularly lacking upon the side of political manipulation and intrigue. The Stevens manuscripts that are available appear to contain little on either the personal life of Stevens or that shady branch of politics that statesmen rarely uncover. There is reason to believe that the motives in reconstruction were not always those expressed in the formal speeches of even so direct a fighter as Stevens, but Professor Woodburn has been unable to tell this side of his story. Stevens stands out in the biography as a thoroughly masculine politician, the full embodiment of his generation. It is a service to have his connection with the reconstruction of the South stated coherently and fairly. It is the greatest strength of the book, however, that it gives a considerate statement of the financial views of the Greenbackers, whose spokesman Stevens was. These are regarded by orthodox economists as so fundamentally unsound that few historians have set them forth with care. It is impossible to understand the history of the later sixties if one believes that a great section of the United States suddenly turned either dishonest or irrational. The Greenback theory was the normal result of peculiar economic conditions that prevailed in the West, and of the financial status produced by the legislation of the Civil War. Professor Woodburn has written a valuable and illuminating chapter of financial history. Most teachers will be better able to present the intricate financial controversies of the last generation if they have studied it.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON, The University of Wisconsin.

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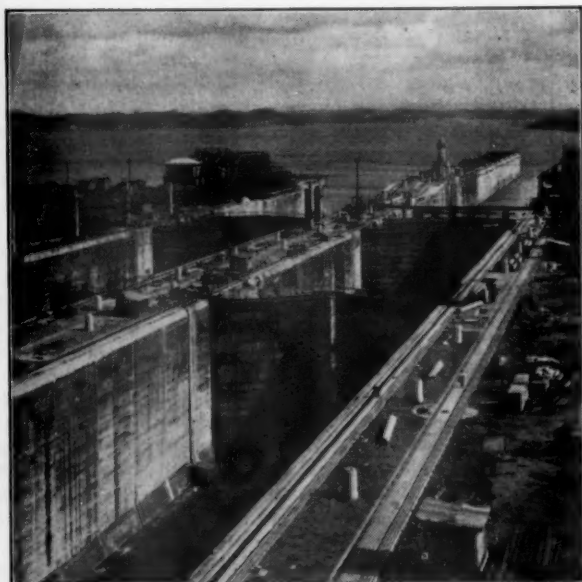
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